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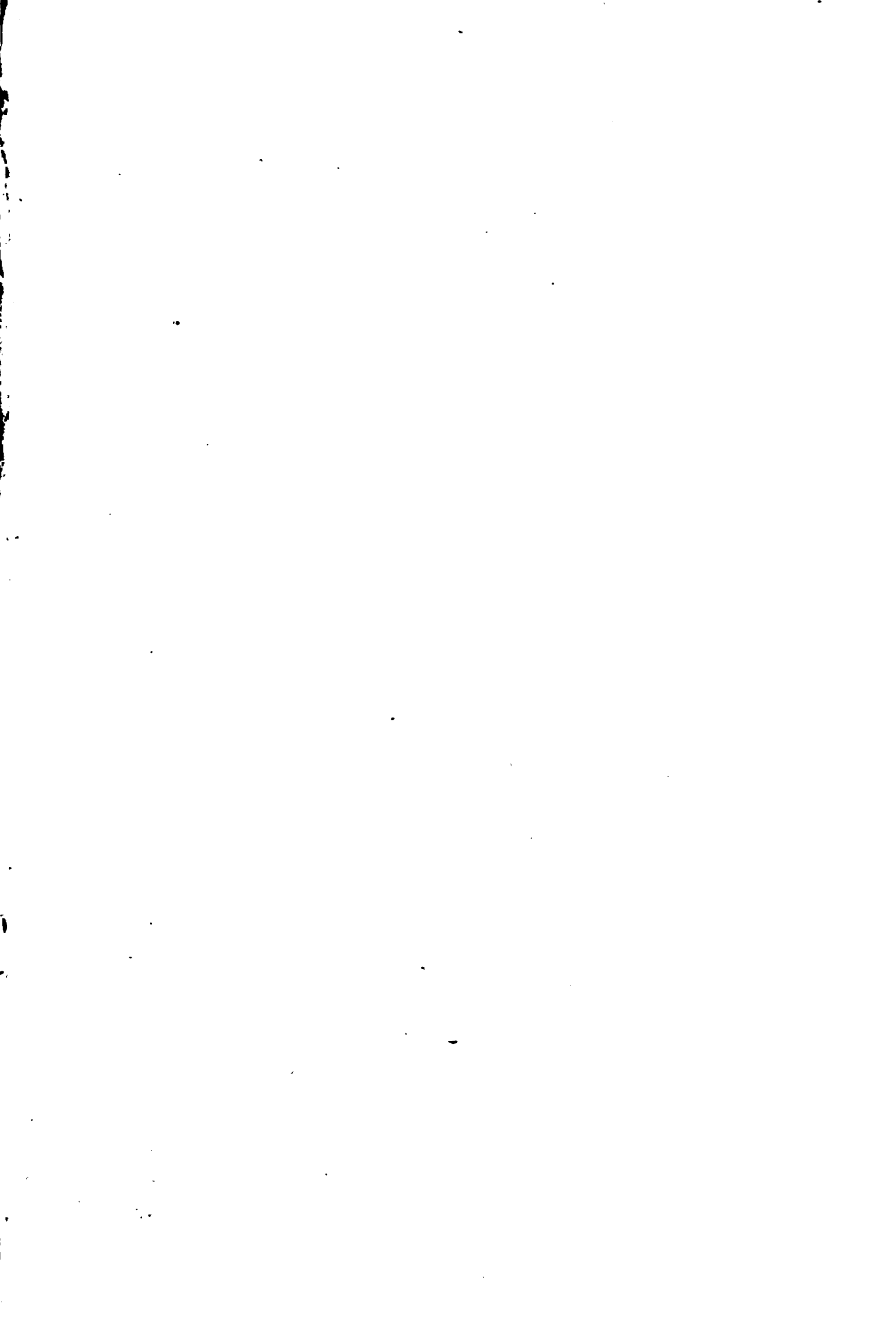


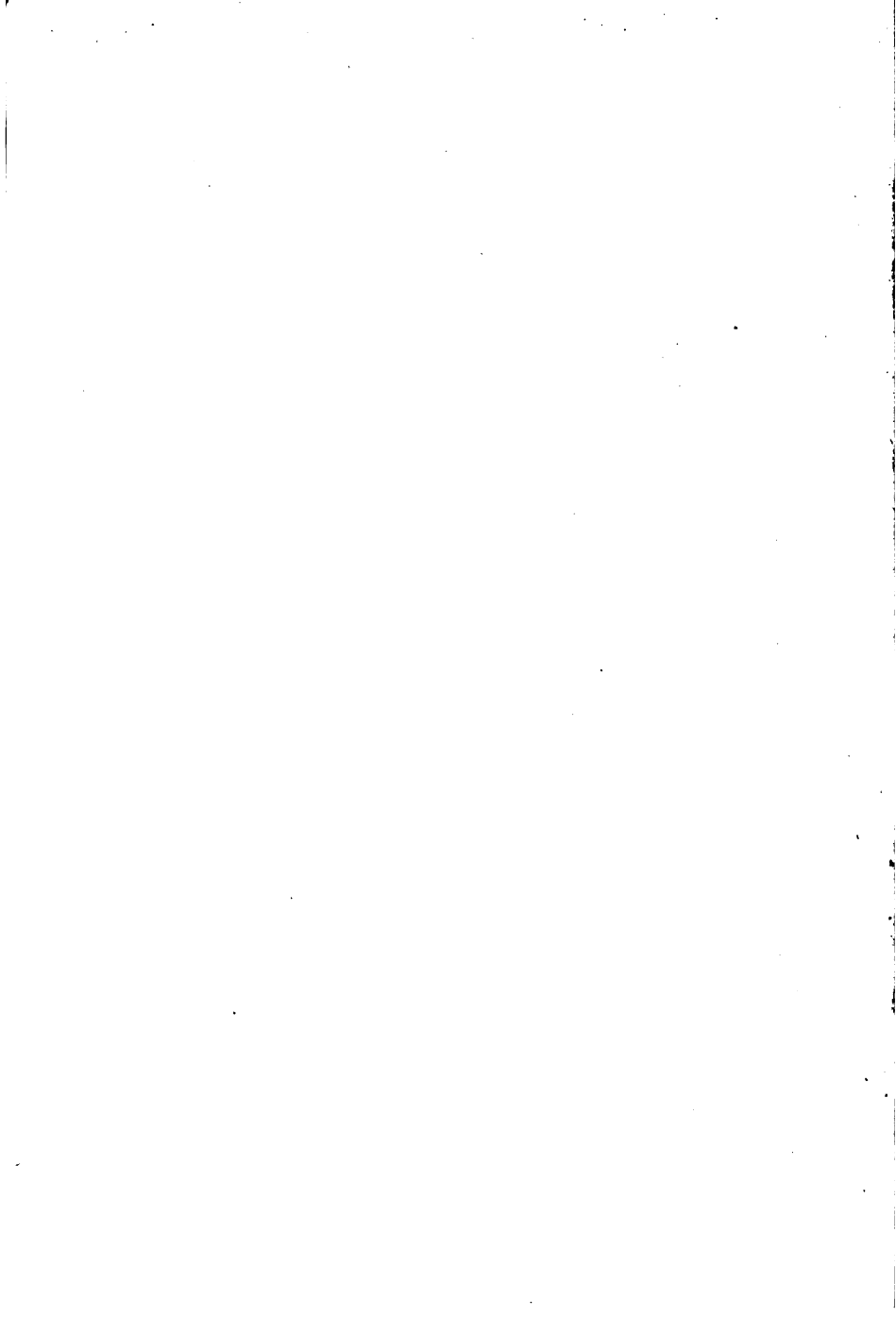
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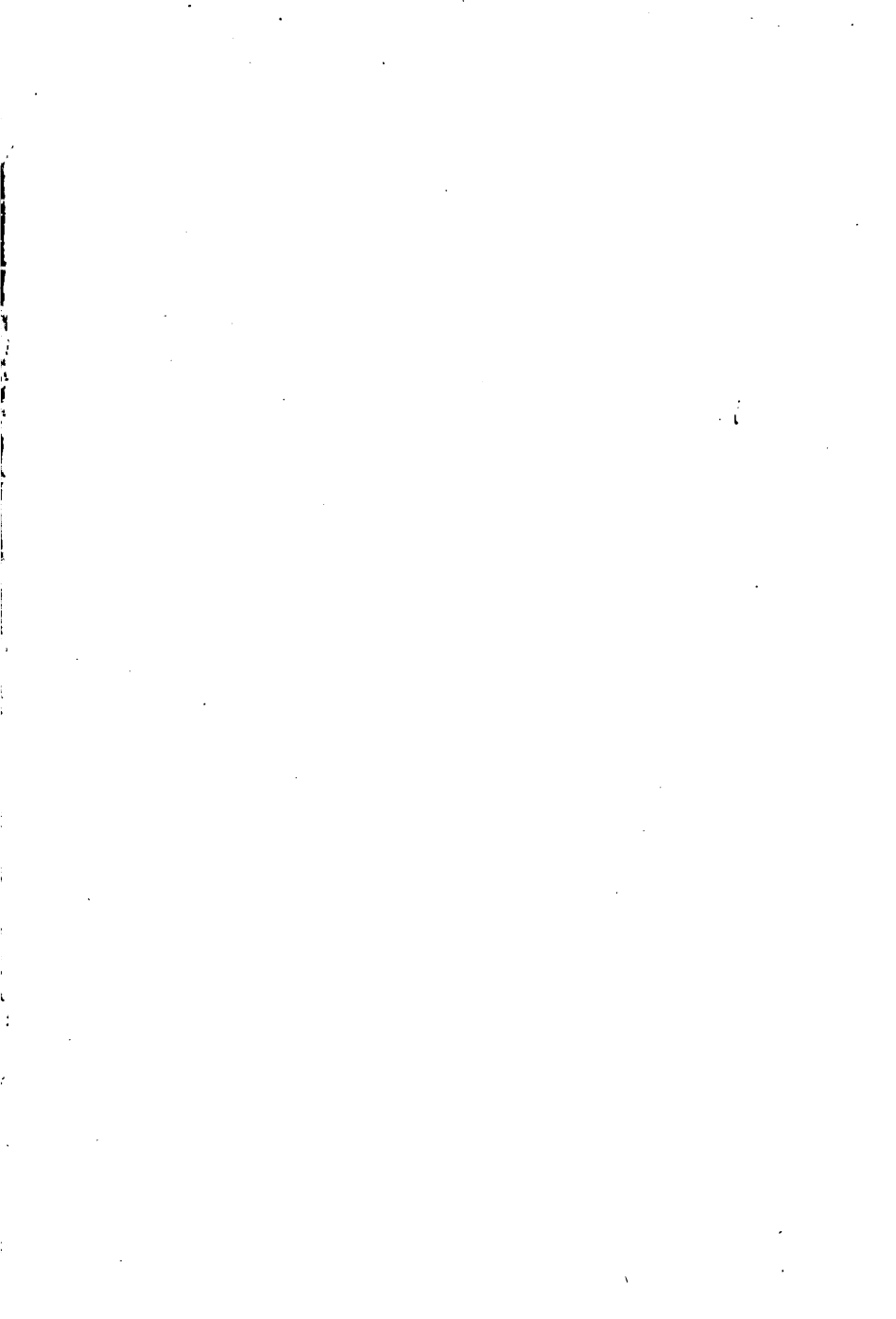
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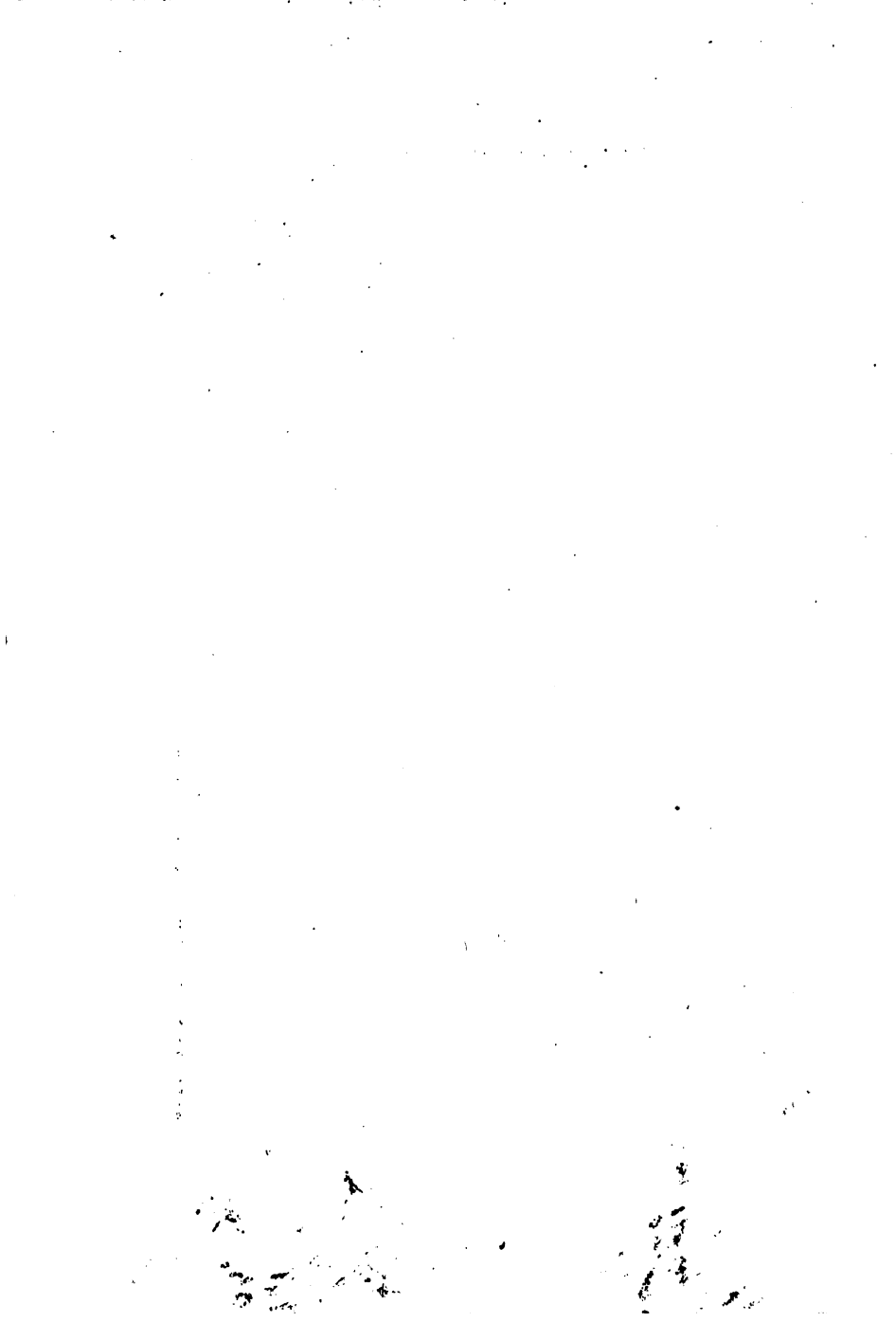
















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# BISHOP POTTER

## THE PEOPLE'S FRIEND

By  
HARRIETTE A. KEYSER

NEW YORK  
THOMAS WHITTAKER, Inc.  
PUBLISHERS

1910

Harvard University.  
Dept. of Social Ethics.  
May 23, 1913.

US 15686.28

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## PREFACE.

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It appears to me that Bishop Potter was the greatest citizen of this country. I write this deliberately, because, having been an observer of men and events during a part of the nineteenth century, as well as the early years of the twentieth, I have racked my brain in vain to discover any one so many-sided and able to touch the people in so many ways.

As he was for several years President of C. A. I. L., and I was Secretary, it was my great privilege to come near to him concerning matters relating to the betterment of all sorts and conditions of men.

In August, 1908, when, under the shadow of sorrow caused by his loss to the Church and social reform, the idea flashed in my mind to use material which I had at hand, or could obtain, with the hope that I might be able, in this way, to give out an impression of this great citizen. This work was begun in Octo-

ber of that year, and has been delayed in various ways; but, at last, this little book is sent out, as my tribute to the memory of the greatest man I have known.

Acknowledgments for documents or letters are due first to the Executive Committee of C. A. I. L., the entire records of that Society being placed at my disposal; to Archdeacon Nelson; to Mr. John Newton Bogart and Mr. H. Oscar Cole, both members of the New York Council of Conciliation and Mediation; and to Mr. Ralph T. Easley of the Civic Federation. I am also indebted to Miss Margaret Schuyler Lawrance, a member of C. A. I. L. from its earliest days, for assistance in various ways, and to Mr. Edward Ransford, former editor of *Hammer and Pen*.

H. A. K.

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## CHAPTER I.

### A PROPHET OF SOCIAL REFORM.

It is interesting, yet not always profitable, to speculate concerning the heredity and early environment of any man or woman of mark. Such speculations are often useless, because of the distinction of individuality which seems to defy these potent influences. Heredity and environment certainly were felicitous in their relation to the child who entered this life in 1834, and was baptized Henry Codman. Because Henry Codman Potter belonged to a family of spiritual force, ecclesiastical prominence and intellectual supremacy, the members of which generally possessed either genius, or talent, it might have been foreseen that he would become distinguished in some of the walks of life; but surely it would have been difficult to foretell his career, not only as a great ecclesiastic, but, also, as a distinguished citizen. For these were the days when it was often thought necessary that the citizen should be lost in the ecclesiastic. With rare gifts of expression, fearlessness, and an exuberant sense of humor,

bubbling over like an unfailing spring, added to a genius for social reform, the subject of this sketch was to be neither mute, nor inglorious. On the contrary, he was destined to wield a tremendous force in the social reforms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In 1868 it fell to his lot to become Rector of Grace Church, New York, to which parish he ministered until 1883, when he was made co-adjutor to his uncle, Horatio Potter, Bishop of New York. In his sermons in that church we find him earnestly presenting topics bearing upon social betterment.

It must be remembered that, so far as social reform was concerned, this was a time of chaotic darkness. The Spirit of God had not yet moved on the face of the waters. All the more welcome was this prophet of the coming light.

From one of his sermons on "The Perils of Wealth," preached on February 17th, 1878, the following extract is taken:

Bear with me then, if, in speaking this morning of the perils of wealth, I use great plainness of speech. It ought at least to set us to thinking, if, when we come to part with our money, we find it so like the rending asunder of body and soul to let it go. It ought to set us to thinking, if, when we anticipate misfortune, no misfortune seems to us so much to be dreaded as a catastrophe which threatens our property. This is the mammon-worship which, in the ultimate outcome of it, is

the death of goodness, the death of nobleness, the death of aspiration. The Kingdom of God, whether here or hereafter, must needs be made up of those in whose breasts a sentiment of personal loyalty to a personal Master is sovereign and supreme. If we do not love Christ well enough to part cheerfully with everything else, if need be, so long as we are not parted from Him, then verily we are none of His. And if any of us have lately been disciplined by personal losses, by business disappointments, by straightened means, believe me, it has been because He would fain have us learn to love Him better than gold or silver, and to put His fellowship above the indulgence of our tastes or the gratification of our ambitions. To come to the gate of Heaven when this little life is ended, with a shrivelled soul and a starved heart, to stand there, looking back and feeling that we have left behind us everything that gave us consideration with our fellows and consequence before the world, this seems to me, is as dismal a vision as the imagination could call up. And this is the peril of the longing for, or possession of wealth.

In this connection, a solemn warning is taken from the sermon on "The Social Indifferentist," preached on November 23rd, 1878:

Now then, it is a result of the complex thing that we call culture, that it makes the sensibilities infinitely more susceptible to external impressions. Poverty, sickness, the dismal effects of vice and crime, these things shock and pain a highly trained and therefore a highly sensitive nature far more than one that is not highly trained. And, therefore, it is not unnatural that such natures should turn away from pain. It is not surprising that they are unwilling to hear of the injustices, the hardships,

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the miseries that are torturing so many of their fellow-men. Nor is it surprising either, that, refusing to know about such things, they cease, before long, to care about them . . . . And yet, Fellow-men and women of a Christian civilization, how utterly and how amazingly is this to miss the noblest end of culture! The function of culture is not merely to train the powers for enjoyment, but first and supremely for helpful service.

An urgent call to service in civic life is contained in "The Citizen's Twofold Stewardship," preached on Thanksgiving Day, November 28th, 1879:

The early disciples of the religion of Christ were the most public-spirited citizens whom the world has known. They could think of something besides their own gain or comfort or advancement; and they not only thought but acted. It is said that we New Yorkers are conspicuously destitute in what is called the spirit of civism. We love New York and are proud of it, as we have a right to be. There is something very noble and princely in the way in which on occasion the wealth and intelligence and moral force of this community can weld themselves together and make of this triple power a weapon with which to wage war for the integrity of the Union or for the political reform of the metropolis . . . . And yet, the charge that, as a community, we are defective in what the world calls civism is just. Civism is that spirit or enthusiasm which makes a man eager to spend and be spent in the service and welfare of his city. And in this spirit we have by no means greatly excelled . . . . Think of the capital, the energy, the swift and fearless intelligence which throb through all the arteries of

our busy and complex life! Who will say, if only we could gather up all this wealth and force and cleverness, and bring it to bear even for one day in each week upon the wrongs and evils of our social and municipal life, what revolutions might not be wrought?

At the early date when the sermons from which we are quoting were preached, there were few who realized that industrial emancipation depends upon political equality, and, that, the disfranchisement of woman acts as a two-edged sword wounding both man and woman. The trade unions realizing this, generally demand her enfranchisement. It will be refreshing to note what Bishop Potter had to say in an address at Packer Institute, Brooklyn, in June, 1877, about women in the political and industrial world:

#### THE DUTY OF WOMEN TO WOMEN.

"And Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, she judged Israel at that time . . . And Deborah said unto Barak, 'Up; for this is the day in which the Lord hath delivered Sisera into thine hand.'"

We are here introduced to a woman with "a mission," as we say nowadays, and therefore not a woman likely to be interesting to the majority of those to whom I speak this evening. For it is a suggestive and on the whole perhaps a creditable fact that heroic women are not so interesting to women as to men. We read about that German prophetess who aroused her people against the invaders from Rome, or about Joan of Arc, who,

simple peasant girl that she was, communing with mysterious angels' voices (as the legend runs), kindled the French nation against the English dominion when princes and statesmen had well-nigh given up the cause; or we read about Deborah, like St. Louis under the oak at Vincennes, sitting under a Judean palm, not with downcast eyes and folded hands and extinguished hopes, but all on fire with faith and energy, with the soul of courage and the voice of command, and we are constrained to pay homage to her daring and her fearlessness, to her strong will and her unshrinking purpose.

But, if I were to ask any one of these young girls to whom I speak this evening whether she were ambitious of such a career, there is not one of you in a score who would say so. Women are not indifferent to admiration any more than men—in fact they usually bear it with more equanimity—but a woman's idea of a happy and useful life is not usually a life of active effort on the platform or in public. A woman's idea of happiness and usefulness ordinarily centres (and who shall say that it does not rightly centre) in a home . . . . Surely, we cannot but revere this impulse, and all the more when we consider for how much the home stands. Nay, more, it is not wonderful, in view of these facts, that when any woman, or set of women, undertakes to break out of the restraints of home, to proclaim a larger liberty for her sex, or demand what are called "Women's rights," there should be on the part of the vast majority of that sex a decided disapproval of their course. Such persons are called "unwomanly" and sometimes they are,—and women are wisely reminded that their proper sphere and their worthiest shrine is in the home. All of which is true enough, and often timely enough. But is there not something to be said on the other side, and is it not time that it was said? The young ladies of the Packer Institute to whom I

am called to speak this evening, have, I presume, most of them come here from homes each one of which is to each heart that turns to it tonight the brightest spot in all the world. To such homes you are looking forward to return, and in such homes or others like them it is your hope that your future may be passed. I pray God that it may be so; and I could ask no better boon for each one of you than that it shall be. But what are the probabilities that it will be so? . . . . We have been accustomed to hear the constantly reiterated assertion that "woman's sphere is the home." I confess for one that in view of the actual facts of society, as they exist around us, there is often in such words a sound of cruel irony. Do not you and I know, that there are thousands of women to whom a home is as impossible a thing as a castle in Spain? Do we not know that there are thousands of young girls in these two sister cities of ours who have no human being but themselves to depend on, and who must somehow make their way and earn their own bread in life? Will you tell me how a home or anything else than a room and hard, steady struggle for life is possible to these?

Doubtless some of them will marry and preside over households of their own, but, even if the marriage relation were the one invariable, inevitable, infallibly blessed relation for women which some people account it, what do you propose to do when already on the eastern coast of this new country of ours we have reached that condition which Mr. Gregg in his social judgments refers to under the interrogative title, "Why are women redundant." There are 80,000 more women than men in the State of Massachusetts alone. Now then, unless these 80,000 are all women of fortune, it is a solemn trifling with a very grave and a very urgent problem to tell them that "woman's sphere is the home." A home implies a decent maintenance, a



head who shall be its bread-winner, a common shelter and common belongings. It is Pharaoh commanding the captive Israelites to make bricks without straw to bid the great army of solitary and dependent women back to the home, and when to this sort of exhortation there is added the sneer of ridicule or contempt for strongminded women and women's rights and the like, it is adding mockery to heartlessness. Surely a woman has some rights as well as a man. Surely, too, among these is the right to earn her own living, and to maintain her own virtuous independence, if there be none other to maintain her in virtuous dependence. And, most surely of all, in every such endeavor women deserve the most cordial sympathy of the more favored of their own sex, and not less the generous approval of men. I presume I need not say that I have no sympathy with any radicalism of female reform more than with any other extravagance, but I confess I have felt with an Englishwoman who said not long ago, "I wish it were felt that women who are laboring for women are not necessarily onesided or selfish or self-asserting. . . . When men nobly born and possessing advantages of wealth and education have fought the battles of poor men, and have claimed and wrung from parliaments an extension of privileges enjoyed by a few to classes of their fellow-men who were toiling and suffering, I do not remember ever to have heard them charged with self-seeking."

It is a curious and scarcely known fact that in the Middle Ages, the daughters as well as the sons in a family often inherited and carried on the family art or handicraft. When one goes to Nuremberg, or Prague, or Heidelberg, he will find bits of wood carving, artistic work in metal or stone which no modern hand can pretend to rival. How are we to explain this earlier perfection? Simply in this wise. The calling of the father was the

calling of the children. Exquisite workmanship was a hereditary trait. Among goldsmiths the daughters execute chasing, among furniture makers carving, among stone-masons sculpture, among engravers drawing and graving. Contrast the life of a young girl whose days are passed in studying the outlines and reproducing the tracery of some exquisite work of Benvenuto Cellini, with some other whose days, and nights, too, are spent in destroying her eyesight and breaking her spirit with the stitch-stitch-stitch of her never-resting needle. Why should we deny any modest calling or handicraft, whether behind the counter or in the workshop, to those whose maintenance and happiness would both alike be found in its pursuit? To this question there is really no answer. Unless we claim that men are a superior caste, whose vocations must not be profaned by the entrance upon them of women, there is really no option for us but to proclaim the freedom of labor, and to contend for that freedom until it shall become complete and universal. . . . It is time that every woman among us, and especially every young girl with culture and influence should waken to the needs of her own sex. What Deborah was under the palmtree at Mount Ephraim, every brave and truehearted woman is called to be in the service of as holy a cause and as precious interests. We call Deborah a prophetess, and so she was. We regard her as somehow separated by her rare natural endowments and her exceptional inspiration from the other women of her time, and so she was. But in a very real and a very living and lofty sense every woman is a prophetess, with a prophet's gifts and a prophet's calling. For what are prophets' gifts but that divine insight, that swift and heavenborn intuition which is your loftiest gift, your loftiest endowment? It is the province of men to reach a consciousness of wrongs to be righted and evils to be remedied by the slower

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process of reasoning. It is yours to see those wrongs with the more penetrating vision of an often unerring insight, and, not frequently, long before men have awakened to them to burn with a sense of their oppression and their injustice. Shall I be opening up an old wound, if I say that it was a woman's voice and pen that, more than any other, roused this land to the evils and cruelties of slavery—and as truly I believe they must be women's voices that must waken us men to the cruelties of that other servitude in which too often and too widely the weak of your sex are today oppressed? Do not be afraid, then, to lift your voice in any good cause that aims to elevate women to equal chance and equal respect and equal emolument with men in the great struggle of life. . . . If you see that there are wrongs, injustices, social tyrannies and if you will only open your eyes, you cannot help seeing them—in the punishments that are meted out to womanly, as distinguished from manly errors, in the meagre opportunities that are afforded for a woman's virtuous and self-respecting independence, in the indifference that will not bestir itself to cheer and brighten and encourage a working woman's weakness, despondence and loneliness—then resolve, I beseech you, that it shall be your high privilege to speak for these and to rouse others to speak and strive for them as well. Be, each one of you a Deborah to cry to some slumberous and sluggish Barak, "Up, and do the Master's work in the spirit of the Master's example!"

As the industrial interests of woman were commonly ignored, or slurred over, so with the increasing development of the factory system, oppression and cruelty often fell to the lot of child workers. Factory inspection in this

country was only begun in Massachusetts in 1877, and in New York in 1886; other states have since followed the example of the former. A few individuals had pleaded the cause of the children and among them none was more earnest and influential than the Rector of Grace Church.

In 1879 on Innocents' Day he preached a sermon for the children, entitled "The Slaughter of the Innocents." The text was taken from St. Matt. 2: 16:

The number of these children, was not great. The population of Bethlehem and its suburbs (which is what is meant by the phrase "all the coasts thereof") was about 2,000 souls, and it is not probable therefore that the number of children under two years old, was more than twenty-five or thirty. Many times that number die in New York from common or epidemic diseases every week, and nobody hears anything about it. And yet, the prominence which this slaughter of the innocents holds in New Testament history is not exaggerated nor unintentional. As little unintelligible or inappropriate is the equal prominence which the Church gives to the memory of those little children in the services of this Holy Innocents' Day. . . . For, after all, both they and their murderer are types. The Herods are not all dead nor are the murdered innocents all buried.

We look upon our children as hallowed and consecrated by His infancy and boyhood Who was once a Babe, a Child, as they are. But can it be said that the world—our world—has altogether purged itself of the guilt of the murder of its innocents? You cannot have the benefits of a high civilization without its penalties. You cannot have the crowded life, the eager competitions, the manifold intimacies

of a great city without their perils. The factory loom means the factory hand. The cheapened product means the cheapened producer. Now then, go and stand at the mouth of an English coal mine. I do not speak of English factories, because a wise legislation has largely reformed the wrongs that were formerly done in them to undergrown and overworked children. But see the boys and girls that emerge, when the day is done, from the mouth of a Welsh coalpit. It is enough to make the heart ache to note the wan, pale faces of these little ones who have never seen a ray of sunshine all day long. But, "Thank God!" we say, "we have nothing like that in America." No, not just like it perhaps, but in great seven-storied buildings in this New York of ours, there are other children at work in an atmosphere even more unwholesome, and at tasks which are far more hurtful.

On February 29th, 1879, we find a sermon, "The Homes of the Poor." The following extract will show that he was early interested in this branch of social reform:

#### THE HOMES OF THE POOR.

A few weeks ago, a number of clergymen, including ministers of every denomination, were invited to meet at the house of a gentleman in this city and hear from those who were thoroughly acquainted with them of the condition of the tenement houses of New York. It was a somewhat unusual occasion. The clergy were the congregation and, with one or two exceptions, laymen were the preachers. It is fair to the clergy to say that they were a very attentive and, in many instances, a thoroughly amazed body of listeners, for the facts which they heard were of a character equally startling and appalling.

There are living in New York today (1879) more than one million people—the precise figures as closely as can be ascertained are 1,970,563. Of these there are 125,000 children under five years of age, and of this number of deaths seventy per cent or nearly three-fourths—occurred in, or in connection with, tenement houses. Finally, the number of people living in tenement houses is estimated at 500,000, or at least half of our whole population.

Let us suppose, now, that the hundred or more persons living in such a house (in one case, at least, there have been as many as 182) should all be persons of excellent moral training, with fixed habits on the side of virtue, temperance and self-restraint—it requires no very vivid imagination to picture the miseries of their condition. Of course for no single one of them could there be the smallest chance of privacy. If they were godly people there would never be a moment, night or day, when they could be secure of even the briefest space of retirement and devotion. Their life, year in and year out, must be lived in the continual presence of others. And, even if they are people without any devout instincts, they would at least be people with an innate impulse of modesty and reserve. Think of the torture to a young girl of maidenly sensitiveness (let us think of it, we whose lives are hedged about with every circumstance that fosters such a sentiment) in an existence without privacy, nay, with the most odious and humiliating publicity. . . . . As to the best method of grappling with the evil which exists in the present homes of the poor, this is not the place to speak. The problem is a large one, and no one solution will fit every emergency and overcome all obstacles. I must confess my own sympathy with the plan adopted by Miss Octavia Hill in London, where that remarkable woman, aided by Mr. Ruskin, took a row of tenement houses of very inferior character and gradually reformed and im-

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proved them, by invoking from the start, the sympathy and co-operation of the inmates. Undoubtedly no old houses, defective in construction and arrangement, can be made so wholesome and convenient as those built today with special reference to light and ventilation and drainage, and the avoidance of over-crowding. But, on the other hand, no tenement house, however admirable its construction, will benefit its inmates until they themselves have been taught how to live in, and care for it. What the poor want is education conveyed with sympathy. What they do not want are condescension and alms.

Meantime, it will be a blessed thing if Christian capitalists, men without too eager an eye to pecuniary profit, would build at least one block of houses for workingmen, which should be, in every respect, a model for such constructions. One such form or type of what a tenement house ought to be would be a boon of inestimable value and of wide and most wholesome influence. But, whatever methods we may employ to lift up our brother, fallen and perishing by the way, may God give us patience and courage and hope! May He help us to remember Whose we are, and Whose they are, who are huddled in yonder abodes of squalor and misery.

God has given to you something of the ability to redeem and uplift these children of the common Father, and to make the world somehow brighter and purer and better for each one of them. I dare not undertake to say in just which way you best may exercise that ability. But ask God to show you the way, and when He has, make haste to follow it!

One more extract from "He beheld the City," which sermon was preached on March 23rd, 1879:

A great city is made up neither of rich people nor of poor people. In our community the great majority are neither paupers nor merchant princes. They are that vast middle class of artisans and tradesmen and men and women, of which all great populations are made up, who belong often to both classes, but who may be found permanently in neither. And this is the element which, as one views it today, ought to give those who think a cause for gravest anxiety. For it is a class which reads much, but not wisely; which is equally open to the social influences which corrupt it alike from below and from above; which is most easily fired with discontent and misled by unbelief, and hardened into practical irreligion. It is the class that is most scantily represented in our churches and yet without which the Church can do as little as the State. It is the class from which all great reforms have sprung, and in which the religion of the New Testament has found its most courageous champions. When it is said in the Gospel of the Saviour, that "the common people heard Him gladly," what is meant is what we should call the great middle classes. And yet today, as one looks down on a great city like this, these are the classes which seem most in danger of settling into a condition of moral insensibility and spiritual apathy.

The extracts which have been given show the spirit of democracy which animated Bishop Potter at the time these sermons were preached, and until he, passing out of this life, entered the great democracy of the life beyond. He has sometimes been called "at once an aristocrat and a democrat." It is exceedingly difficult in a republic to tell exactly what is meant



by the term "aristocrat." One thing, however, is certain—he was an uncompromising enemy of caste, and in all his utterances on social reform, went to the root of the matter in attacking the separation of classes, and the lack of sympathy and contact which he considered the primal cause of all the disturbances which rend society and agitate the labor world.

The following extract from an editorial in the New York Times in July, 1908, written after he had passed on to the greater life, bears upon this proclivity:

He was from the outset intensely interested in what may be called, for lack of a better name, the sociological field of church work. This was more, a great deal more, than mere charity, though it included charity, it related to the study of the causes and conditions of poverty, of misfortune, or failure, or demoralization. His ethical sense was at once delicate and sturdy. He felt profoundly the brotherhood of the race, and he manifested courage, force, independence of judgment, and great unselfishness in the application of the principle to the relations of daily life. By descent and association he was, in a certain sense, aristocratic. That is to say, he was refined in his tastes, alive to the charm of culture, ripely cultured himself, possessing rare social gifts, and delighting in the society of those likewise gifted. But he despised the spirit of caste, whether of that class with which he was naturally connected, or of the classes in which envy replaces pride. Apart from the more specific duties of the Church, nothing engaged more intimately and pas-

sionately all the energies of his nature than systematic work for the practical application of the ideal of brotherhood to the aid of those to whom it is usually extended only in pale and ineffectual theory.

## CHAPTER II.

### A GLEAM OF LIGHT—A NEW ORGANIZATION.

IN this time of darkness it might reasonably have been expected that the first gleam of light would come from the Church. She was reproached by many outside her fold, and by some within, for apparent indifference to the great social questions rapidly becoming a dominating influence. And what might have been expected came to pass in the organization of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor—better known by the shorter title—C. A. I. L. This Association was founded in May, 1887, by the Rev. J. O. S. Huntington, O. H. C.; the Rev. B. F. De Costa, D. D.; the Rev. F. W. Tomkins, jr.; the Rev. Edward Kenney; the Rev. J. W. Kramer, M. D.; the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss; the Rev. S. Allen, O. H. C.; the Rev. W. H. Cook; the Rev. John Anketell.

In response to an invitation given by the Rev. James O. S. Huntington, of the Order of the Holy Cross, a number of the clergy of the Episcopal Church assembled at the clergy house

of that Order on Tuesday morning, May 18th, 1887; "with the intention of petitioning Almighty God that the clergy of this branch of the Church may be moved to perform their duty to the workingmen of our land." After the Holy Communion the clergy breakfasted in the refectory of the Order. After breakfast the meeting was called to order by the Rev. Father Huntington, the Rev. Benjamin F. De Costa, D. D., being elected chairman and the Rev. Edward Kenney, secretary. Father Huntington made a statement regarding the labor question and the interest the clergy and the laity should take in it, declaring that the time had come when the clergy should act through definite organization and place themselves in active sympathy with the workingmen of our land.

A plan of organization was submitted by the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, of Lee, Massachusetts, and Mr. Kenney asked for information in regard to the basis of organization of the Knights of Labor, suggesting the propriety of becoming a local of that organization. At a further meeting, after the committee appointed for the purpose had presented the principles of the Knights of Labor, it was the sense of the meeting that it was better to organize a guild within the Church.

At a meeting held in Calvary Chapel, it was

moved by the Rev. John Anketell that an organization be formed to be called "The Labor Defence Association," which title was amended to read "The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interest of Labor." It was voted that an invitation be sent to the clergy of New York city to discuss at a public meeting plans to reach the working classes in this country, and that at that time the Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of New York, bearing date May 10th, 1886, be read. This first public meeting of the new association was held in Calvary Chapel on June 22d, 1887, and the following prayer set forth by the authority of the Bishop of the diocese, was used in the opening Service:

Almighty God, who in the former time leddest our fathers forth into a wealthy place and didst set their feet in a large room; give Thy grace, we humbly beseech Thee, to us their children, that we may always approve ourselves a people mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will. Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning and good manners. Defend our liberties, preserve our unity. Save us from violence, discord, and confusion; from pride and arrogance, and from every evil way. Fashion into one happy people the multitude brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Endue with the spirit of wisdom those whom we entrust in Thy name with the authority of governance, to the end that there be peace at home, and that we keep our place among the nations of the earth. In the time of our prosperity temper

our self-confidence with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble suffer not our trust in Thee to fail, all of which we ask for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

The chairman, Dr. De Costa, after his address, asked that the Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of New York be read, stating that in the absence of the Bishop there were no better words in which to express the sense of the meeting:

PASTORAL LETTER.

May 15, 1886.

TO THE REVEREND THE CLERGY:

DEAR BRETHREN:

"Under the provisions of our Canons, it is made my duty to address to you, from time to time, such pastoral counsel as particular exigencies may demand. A grave emergency has arisen, in which while it seems to concern us first as citizens, it is of supreme importance that we should see and own our duty as disciples of Him, whose ministers we are and whose religion we are pledged to teach and illustrate. I am not one of those in haste to doubt the power of the civil magistrate to control the violence of mobs, or the disposition of the great majority of our people to range themselves on the side of law and order. Nor am I apprehensive that the constituted authorities will fail of their duty in any conflict that may threaten us at this moment, any more than I am ignorant that the turbulent elements in our own and other cities are largely recruited from the ranks of aliens and foreigners. Already it is plain, in more than one direction, that those who resist the terrorism of

unscrupulous organizations aiming to coerce workmen and wage-payers alike by such intolerable tyrannies as riot and the boycott have behind them a resolute public sentiment, which will not rest until it has vindicated the majesty of the law and those personal rights to 'life, liberty (and if liberty, then at least the liberty to labor), and the pursuit of of happiness' for which our fathers shed their blood. Already in more than one conspicuous struggle, widely heralded as designed to be a test case as to the power of workingmen to manage not only their own affairs, but those of their employers, the issue has been in favor of the employer and not of the workingmen. And where, as in other instances, the decision halts or is postponed for a little, it needs no prophet to predict it. Organized capital backed by the orderly and peace-loving instincts of those large and powerful elements in the community which are not wage-earning elements will be likely still further to triumph, and the wrongs, real or imaginary, of the working-classes will not, at any rate today or tomorrow, be righted by the means that they have thus far employed. At such a moment I cannot but think that the Church whose ministers we are has a rare opportunity. It is the moment of all others when they who have proved their strength to resist what they believe to be unreasonable demands, accompanied by unwarrantable acts and combinations, may wisely be urged to illustrate that just and generous magnanimity which should forever chasten the exercise of superior powers, and ennoble the possession of exceptional gifts or gains. And as to the message of the Church to such men there can be no doubt. Is it only a coincidence that at the very moment when events are occurring among us which show the two classes into which the community is divided, the rich and the poor are arrayed against one another with equal menace and animosity on either side, the Church should

be leading us through those incidents of her Pentecostal history when 'the multitude of them that believed *were of one heart and of one soul*; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things in common!'<sup>\*</sup> Let it be granted without reserve that such words describe an era of enthusiasm which, with its consequent community of possession, could not last any more than it would have been for the greatest good of the greatest number that it should last. Still the fact remains that Christianity brought into the world a new law of brotherhood, and both by precept and example taught men that they to whom has been committed, the stewardship of exceptional gifts, whether of rank, wealth, learning or cleverness, are not to treat them as their own, but as a trust for the whole community. 'Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ;' 'Ye that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak;' 'Charge them that are rich in this world that they be ready to give, glad to distribute.' These words and others like them did not mean the mere giving of doles and indiscriminate distribution of alms. It is not by gifts such as these that the wounds in the body-politic are to be healed, and the parted tendrils of a dissevered humanity bound together; and it is an open question whether municipal and institutional charity has not irritated as much as it has soothed or healed them. What the laborer wants from his employer is fair and fraternal dealing, not alms-giving, and a recognition of his manhood rather than a condescension to his inferiority. And it is at this point that the outlook is most discouraging. The growth of wealth among us has issued not in binding men together but in driving them apart. The rich are now farther than ever before from the poor, the employer from his

<sup>\*</sup> Acts iv, 32, Second Lesson for Third Sunday after Easter.



workmen, capital from labor. Too many know less and less how the poor live, and give little time, or none at all to efforts to know. The wage of the laborer may be, doubtless in most cases it is larger than it was thirty years ago; but his wants have grown more rapidly than his wages, and his opportunities for gratifying them are not more numerous, but less. He knows more about decent living, but his home is not often more decent, and daily grows more costly. His mental horizon has been widened, but fit food for it is no more accessible. Instincts and aspirations have been awakened in him which are certainly as honorable in him as in those more favorably situated, but wealth does little either to direct or to satisfy them. The manners of the poor, it is said, are more insolent and ungracious than of old to the rich, and this discourages efforts to know and serve them. I do not see why poverty should cringe to wealth, which is as often as otherwise an accidental distinction, and quite as often a condition unadorned by any especial moral or intellectual excellence. But we may be sure that the manners of the poor, if they be insolent, are learned from those of people whose opportunities should at least have taught them that no arrogance is more insufferable or unwarrantable than that of mere wealth. And if we are reaping today the fruits of these mutual hatreds between more and less favored classes, we may well own that the fault is not all on one side, and that it is time that we awaken to the need of sacrifices which alone can banish them.

These sacrifices are not so much of money as of ease, of self-indulgent ignorance, of contemptuous indifference, of conceited and shallow views of the relations of men to one another. A nation whose wealth and social leadership are in the hands of people who fancy that day after day, like those of old, they can "sit down to eat and drink and rise

up to play," careless of those who earn the dividends that they spend and pay the rents of the tenement houses that they own, but too often never visit or inspect, has but one doom before it, and that the worst. We may cover the pages of our statute-books with laws regulating strikes, and inflicting severest penalties on those who organize resistance to the individual liberty, whether of employer or workman; we may drill regiments and perfect our police; the safety and welfare of a state are not in these things, they are in the contentment and loyalty of its people. And they come by a different road. When capitalists and employers of labor have forever dismissed the fallacy, which may be true enough in the domain of political economy, but is essentially false in the domain of religion, that labor and the laborer are alike a commodity, to be bought and sold, employed or dismissed, paid or underpaid, as the market shall decree; when the interest of workman and master shall have been owned by both as one, and the share of the laboring man, shall be something more than a mere wage; when the principle of a joint interest in what is produced of all the brains and hands that go to produce it is wisely and generously recognized; when the wellbeing of our fellow-men, their homes and food, their pleasures and their higher moral and spiritual necessities, shall be seen to be matters concerning which we may not dare to say, "Am I my brother's keeper?" then, but not till then may we hope to heal those grave social divisions, concerning which there need to be among us all, as with Israel of old, "great searchings of heart."

I beg you, reverend brethren, to set these things before your people with great plainness of speech. In New York centres the capital that controls the traffic, and largely the manufactures, of this new world. In your congregations are many of those who control that capital. In all our parishes are

people who employ labor, or reap the benefits of it. To these it is time to say that no Christian man can innocently be indifferent to the interests of workmen and women; that wealth brings with it a definite responsibility, first to know how best to use it to serve others as well as ourselves, and then resolutely to set about doing it; that luxury has its decent limits, and that we in this land are in danger in many directions of overstepping those limits; that class-churches and class-distinctions of kindred kinds have nearly destroyed in the hearts of many of the poor all faith in the genuineness of a Religion whose Founder declared, "All ye are brethren," but whose disciples more often seem by their acts to say, "Stand thou there," "Trouble me not," when their brethren remind them not merely of their manifold needs but of their just rights.

These, I say, are some of the things which need to be said to your people. Nor am I in doubt as to the response which they will awaken. There are, I am persuaded, not a few among us who long to see the Christianity of our common Master translated into new deeds of brotherhood and self-sacrifice. There never was so much intelligent sentiment in the Church as to our great social problems as today. There never was more willing self-sacrifice waiting to be led forth to new conquests for the Cross. There is a wide unrest concerning things as they are; there is an honest longing to make our Christianity more real and more helpful; there is a fresh enthusiasm for God and His Church, ready to kindle into flame. To these you can speak. May God give you the wisdom to do so!

The following prayer for the Country (before quoted) is set forth for use in churches and chapels under the provisions of Canon 15, Title I.

I am, Reverend and Dear Brethren,

Faithfully and affectionately, yours,

HENRY C. POTTER.

At this meeting the following was adopted as a basis of work for the society:

The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, believing that the clergy and laity of the Church should become personally interested in the social questions now being agitated, should inform themselves of the nature of the issues presented, and should be prepared to act as the necessities of the day may demand, sets forth the following principles and methods of work for its members:

#### PRINCIPLES.

1. It is of the essence of the teachings of Jesus Christ that God is the Father of all men, and that all men are brothers.
2. God is the sole possessor of the earth and its fulness; Man is but the steward of God's bounties.
3. Labor being the exercise of body, mind and spirit in the broadening and elevating of human life, it is the duty of every man to labor diligently.
4. Labor, as thus defined, should be the standard of social worth.
5. When the divinely-intended opportunity to labor is given to all men, one great cause of the present widespread suffering and destitution will be removed.

#### METHODS.

1. Prayer.
1. Sermons, setting forth the teachings of the Gospel as the guide to the solution of every question involved in the interests of Labor.
3. The proper use of the press and the circulation of tracts as occasion may require.
4. Lectures and addresses on occasions when the interests of Labor may be advanced.

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5. The encouragement by precept and example of a conscientious use of the ballot.

### SPECIAL DUTIES.

It shall be the duty of each member to take, or read at least one journal devoted to the interests of Labor.

It shall be the duty of each member to devote a certain portion of his time to the study of the social questions of the day in the light of the Incarnation.

### COLLECT.

O Lord Jesus Christ, who didst glorify Labor by Thy life of toil, bless, we beseech Thee, the efforts of our Society, that we may both rejoice to work with Thee, and may also strive to open to all our brothers and sisters the way to honest labor, and secure to them the fruits of their toil: Who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest one God, world without end. Amen.

It may be well here to give a personal note from an address delivered at the C. A. I. L. Conference in Washington in May, 1900, by the Rev. Floyd Tomkins one of the founders of the association:

### THE REVEREND FLOYD TOMKINS.

As I stand before the conference of C. A. I. L. tonight, I hardly recognize the baby born thirteen years ago; but I shall be glad to speak of the early days of this association. In a certain city it was the fashion to have chapels for the poor connected with fashionable churches, and some of those

chapels were in the same sections of the city, and the priests in charge of them and of other churches nearby used to meet together for mutual help and encouragement in their work. As they became more and more interested, they became aware that the wage-worker was not drifting away from the Church, but that the Church would drift away from labor if some principles were not formulated to protect its best interests. As a result of this conviction, in Calvary Chapel, in an upper room, C. A. I. L. was formed. I like to think that it was in an upper room that this took place. In finding a name for the new society, we felt it a necessity to show that all those who work with head or hands, ought to feel that their work was sacred and should be well done. The principles were drawn up after much thought and prayer, and I hope that you will take your programs home and read those principles before going to bed. At the time C. A. I. L. was formed such a sermon as Dr. Smith's yesterday could not have been preached. In the first place (let us be honest), the clergy did not know enough, and, in the second place, the people did not know enough to listen. The clergy who founded C. A. I. L. had their trials. They lost calls to churches in consequence of its leaking out that they were engaged in such work. In drawing up the "Principles," the first was considered indisputable and as being the foundation on which all work for humanity must be based. All good work has been done by God working through human means. The second "Principle" caused more thought, as it was feared it might be considered to embody a belief in Single Tax, and so bar out some who might otherwise join the new society. The last Principle was drawn up because at that time there were a great many men out of work, as there have been ever since. It is sad to think that this enforced idleness on the part of some is caused by the long working hours

of others. An eight-hour law universally enforced would solve this problem. The collect and the methods of work were next drawn up. Prayer was the first and obvious duty; but sermons—they were dangerous things, we said; (we shall get into trouble, but never mind; tumble in; sink or swim!) Again, when we called upon the Knights of Labor, wishing to obtain the benefit of their knowledge and help, we were made to feel that we were doing a most dangerous thing—people *smelt sulphur* blocks away—sparks flew; but in itself what a delightful thing it was—making us feel so strongly that we were all brothers. The reading of at least one journey devoted to labor we realized to be a necessity, since we felt we must be informed. So C. A. I. L. was formed to meet the new needs of the present time.

The work of C. A. I. L. progressed rapidly, in spite of the fact that there were many both within and without the Church who did not believe it was her duty to consider social problems. "She would do well to leave them to the capitalists and wage-workers most interested," they said. In those days the general public was left out of the calculation altogether.

The following letters will show the continued interest of Bishop Potter in the work of the new society:

July 8, 1887.

MY DEAR MR. KENNEY:

Accept my thanks for your courtesy in sending me a copy of the Minutes of the recent meeting of the Clergy held under the auspices of the (Church Association for the Advancement of the interests

of Labor). I have read them with much interest and I am sincerely glad to know that the grave and urgent questions under discussion are receiving the serious consideration of the Clergy. When you can, get hold of Mr. Greg's instructing volume on the "Mistakes of the Working Classes". You will find it a mine of valuable information and vigorous thought.

Faithfully yours,

HENRY C. POTTER.

October 25, 1887.

MY DEAR DR. DE COSTA:

My duties here will make it impossible for me to be present at the meeting tomorrow. I am very sorry—for, in spite of the disposition which exists among many who are not laboring people to believe that, in the matter of the labor problem, the motto of the Clergy ought to be (*ne sutor ultra crepidam*), I am very clear that the Clergy have a mission as mediators between classes, which grows out of their higher mission as priests in the Church of God. In attempting to discharge it, I hope they will endeavor to understand both sides and will be brave enough to resist the temptation to win popular applause by ignoring the fact that, in attempting to harmonize the conflicting claims of capital and labor, it must first be recognized that there are faults and evils on both sides. There is a French proverb which says, "The absent are always wrong"—and the tendency of popular meetings in the interest of particular classes is to misstate or overstate the case, as against those who are not represented there. I am sure my brethren who meet at your call will be wise and just enough to avoid this error. May God bless their gathering for good.

Faithfully and affectionately yours,

H. C. POTTER.



At the meeting referred to in the letter of October 25th, Bishop Huntington was present. He was well known as a friend of all the people. At this meeting he spoke for forty minutes, giving his hearty approval to the methods of the association and dwelling particularly upon solving social problems in the light of the Incarnation. He was followed by Dr. Darlington, who has since become a bishop. For, curiously enough, although at first some of the adherents of C. A. I. L. among the clergy suffered embarrassment, afterwards many of their number came to honor. In the Church we need men who have at once far-sight and courage, and ultimately such will receive recognition. Bishop Huntington at the resignation of Dr. De Costa (who later became vice-president) was elected president of the Society on November 11, 1887, which office he filled for about seventeen years, until his death in the summer of 1904. During this period his wise counsel and noble utterances in its behalf were of incalculable benefit to the association, while his high example of faithfulness to ideals and simplicity of life were inspirations whose influence will always be felt.

In November, 1887, the clergy were requested to preach on the subject "Labor, being the exercise of body, mind and spirit in the broaden-

ing and elevating of human life, should be the standard of social worth," and this was done in a large number of churches on the Sunday next before Advent. It was no great wonder that sermons on such a subject should have attracted wide attention, and excited both approval and opposition; for, although it was the fashion for candidates before election to discourse to wage-workers on the dignity of labor, C. A. I. L. was the first to assert that it should be the standard of social worth.

In 1890, public meetings in the interests of wage-workers were instituted. In January, a large mass meeting of wage-working communicants was held at Annex Hall, New York, and another in April, followed by a third still larger and more interesting meeting in Cooper Union in December.

A very important step was taken in 1890—a petition, which at that time was considered very radical was circulated among the communicants of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York and the following resolutions were presented to the Diocesan Convention. They were not adopted until the Convention of 1891, and were afterwards endorsed by several dioceses.

RESOLVED:—That this Convention procure its printing and other work to be done from firms paying not less than the minimum standard of wages current in the trade. 2. That the Convention urges

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on the parishes, societies and institutions of this diocese the duty they owe to Christ and His people to assure themselves that the laborers on any work for the Church are not defrauded of their hire by insufficient wages or excessive hours of toil; and recommends that contracts for work to be done shall include a clause requiring contractors to pay not less than the minimum rate of wages recognized by the trade, and to give out no subcontracts.

In these days the preaching of labor sermons has become a part of the custom of most churches. This was initiated in 1890, when the C. A. I. L. instituted Labor Day Services on the eve of Labor Day. There is still extant a printed Service list of a special Labor Day Service at St. George's, the sermon preached by the Rev. Floyd W. Tomkins, jr., of Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut. Those who were present will remember the great congregation of all sorts and conditions—representatives of capital and labor, in the Church of God, listening attentively to the message from the pulpit of exhortations to justice, mutual forbearance and peace.

The Working Women's Society of New York was an outgrowth of the meetings for working women held in Pythagoras Hall. The call to these meetings was headed "To women and girls who are working for their living and earning daily wages." The committee signing this call consisted of Dr. Annie S. Daniel, Mary C.

Andrews, Ida M. Van Etten, Mary McGinley, Arria S. Huntington, Leonore O'Reily and Gabrielle Greeley. In this year, 1890, C.A.I.L. pledged itself to the Society to obtain the signatures of the Clergy of New York to a call to a meeting held in Chickering Hall on May 6th under the auspices of the Working Women's Society and over one hundred co-operating clergymen. The meeting was attended by large numbers and marked by great enthusiasm. The oppressive conditions in retail stores entailing much suffering on women and children passed under scathing review by the clerical speakers, as they commented on the report of investigation made by the Working Women's Society, whose secretary was Miss Alice Woodbridge, a woman of ability and untiring energy. Among the speakers were the following: Roman Catholic, Fathers Elliot and Ducey; Hebrew, Dr. Sola Mendes; Episcopal, the Rev. William Reed Huntington, D. D.; Presbyterian, Dr. Alexander; Baptist, Rev. Mr. Faunce. There were also clerical representatives from the Methodists and Unitarians. At the close of the meeting the audience gave its unanimous approval to a series of resolutions, one of which provided for a committee appointed by the chair "to co-operate with the Working Women's Society in the preparation of a white list, as

has been suggested at this meeting, of those houses which deal fairly with their employes." This joint committee decided to establish the "Consumers' League." Later among the workers was Miss Mary Leute, a member of C. A. I. L., and of the Working Women's Society. C. A. I. L. has worked always in the interest of the clerks. Among those in recent years who have done good service, is the Rev. Henry M. Barbour of the Church of The Beloved Disciple, New York.

In the year 1892 the Rev. Joseph Reynolds of St. Mary's, Mott Haven, was elected Vice President of the society. Mr. Reynolds was characterized by illuminated common sense, which added to his experience in labor problems (he had been a Knight of Labor) and a natural ability to harmonize the conflicting interests of capital and labor made him a power in the association. It was regretted that this year, owing to the removal of the Order of the Holy Cross from New York, the society lost the active work of two of the order, Father Huntington and Father Allen, whose devotion to the society in its early days did so much to advance its interests.

A new secretary appeared, successor to Father Allen—Mr. William Harmon Van Allen, a teacher in Trinity School. It will be

seen that during Mr. Van Allen's term of office important measures were passed. Among these was the election of forty bishops as honorary vice-presidents. At the present time about eighty bishops hold this position. This does not mean merely that so many distinguished names were added to the influence of the society, but that these dignitaries were able and did promote justice and peace.

Bishop Potter was among the forty who accepted this office and in his reply said in part:

I shall be glad to serve the Association so far as I can, and to serve in the office to which your letter tells me I have been chosen. . . I am sincerely glad to know that the grave and urgent questions under discussion are receiving the serious consideration of the clergy. . . I am very clear that the clergy have a mission as mediators between classes, which grows out of their higher mission as priests in the Church of God.

Mr. Van Allen resigned his office of secretary of the General Society in 1894, when he took Orders and removed from New York. He was succeeded by Mr. Charles Delancey Allen, who, after two years of energetic work, resigned from pressure of other business, and his successor was myself.

For many years Mr. H. B. Livingston has served as treasurer with ability and devotion.

## CHAPTER III.

### INCREASING LIGHT—THE RELATIONS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR—CONCILIATION AND ARBITRA- TION.

WE have seen how Bishop Potter felt and spoke on the great questions of social reform at an early date, when the treatment of such subjects in the pulpit was, to say the least, uncommon. He sympathized with the standpoint of C. A. I. L. towards organized labor. That association did not waste any time in a long demonstration as to brotherhood. It simply recognized the brotherhood that exists, and has always existed between man and man. It was a foregone conclusion then, that C. A. I. L. should recognize organized labor. Some say, why not unorganized labor? Well, it is certain that whosoever promotes organized labor helps the unorganized, because the latter always benefits by the shorter hours and higher wages won by the efforts of the former. Unorganized labor, however, is made up of individuals. How are you going to deal with a million of individuals? An officer of the C. A. I. L. may

address delegates of organized labor representing a million or more; and, in a fifteen minutes' talk, set forth a line of policy, and assure the delegates of the fact that that society represents and aims at a peaceful method of settling labor difficulties; but let any one who has the time, calculate how long it would take to talk fifteen minutes to each individual of a million of the unorganized. Unorganized labor has never wanted recognition. C. A. I. L. set the fashion of recognizing organized labor from the beginning of its work. In 1895 an organized labor committee was formed and is still working.

The following report of a sermon preached in 1898, will throw light upon the Bishop's attitude towards capital and labor:

On the evening of Sunday, May 8, the annual C. A. I. L. Service took place in Trinity Church, New York. Notwithstanding the fierce rain storm, the large church was quite three-quarters filled, and in the congregation were gathered large delegations from many labor organizations. For these as well as for the members of C. A. I. L., for delegates from the Christian Workingmen's Institute, and the Catholic Workingmen's Club—of which two societies last-named many members were present—seats were reserved in the nave of the church—the aisles being given to the general



public, among whom were several volunteers—Churchmen and St. Andrew's Brotherhoodmen on their way to the front to uphold the righteous cause of freedom for Cuba.

The Service consisted of the accustomed shortened form of Evening Prayer in use at the night Service in Trinity and was effectively rendered by the choir, with Mr. Victor Baier, organist of the church, presiding at the organ. The Lesson was read by the Reverend Joseph Reynolds, jr., Rector of St. Mary's Church, Alexander Avenue, New York, vice-president of C. A. I. L., who also at the end of the Service thanked the rector of Trinity Church in the name of the association for the use of the church, the clergy who assisted in the Service, the choir and organist, and the Bishop of the diocese for so kindly preaching the sermon. In the chancel, besides the clergy of the parish and Mr. Reynolds, were the Rev. Thomas H. Sill, vicar of St. Chrysostom's chapel, and the Rev. Thomas M. Thorpe, of New York. The ushers were all members of C. A. I. L., acting under the direction of Mr. H. B. Livingston, chairman of the reception committee and treasurer of the association.

The Bishop took for his text the words of St. Paul, Phil. 4: 5, "Let your moderation be known to all men. The Lord is at hand."

This is the Apostle's message to a people of marked forces, on fire with a new enthusiasm. The Philippians were Macedonians, and the Macedonians were, under Philip of Macedon, the conquerors of the Greeks—which is the same as saying that they were a people of daring, endurance and exceptional national order. Some of them to whom this letter was written had become Christian; but, if a man is by nature or by training ardent, daring and enduring, his becoming a Christian does not make him less so, but only furnishes him with a new motive and a new sphere for the exhibition of such qualities.

What urgent motives and what a wide sphere were there for the exhibition of such qualities in Philippi! Philippi was not originally Greek; but the Greek spirit was there, and that meant—to put it as it must have impressed a Christian convert—that Philippi was a city in which men had come, as everywhere that Greek civilization had climbed to the top, to put the secondary things first. Art, and Letters, and social refinement and luxury had advanced so far that no succeeding age has ever touched the splendid heights to which they climbed. But things that are more noble than Art or Letters, or the worship of beauty, or the culture of taste—Truth, and Equity, and the Eternal Righteousness—these too often lay naked and wounded in the streets, and yet, no man regarded.

Now the Christian men and women in Philippi had awakened to these nobler things, had been profoundly moved by them, and, not unnaturally, profoundly persuaded of their duty to proclaim and to promote them. The wrongs that were about them on every hand loudly appealed to them to be righted—the slave to be freed, the oppressed to be relieved, the downtrodden to be succored, and, above all, great and festering evils to be unmasked and denounced.

"Yes," in effect says the Apostle, "but do not

lose sight of the conditions with which you are dealing, the circumstances that have produced them, or the often honest ignorance and prejudice that confronts you. It is not "raw haste, half-sister to delay," that you need to invoke. It is no sweeping and indiscriminate crusade that you are called upon to wage. Mix with your zeal for reform a wise intelligence and an habitual self-restraint. In a word, in the great work which you have in hand, "Let your *moderation* be known to all men."

How poor and tame the words sound! Our popular notion of a reformer is one who will have no half-measures, who takes no counsel with a timid prudence, who has no use for chastened or temperate speech. If there is a wrong, social, civic, or individual, there is no language too fierce in which to denounce it; no line of action too sweeping and iconoclastic with which to dethrone it. We are apt, indeed, in reforms to hate chastened speech and to regard with something of suspicion or contempt one who counsels moderate measures. As one cried out, hearing another described as a "moderate man": "I loathe a moderate man."

But, in fact, it is not mere moderation which the Apostle counsels here. The Greek word so translated means rather what Bishop Ellicott with a fine discernment has described as "a sweet reasonableness," and it is a quality—a characteristic—which in all these matters that divide men may well command our hearty respect.

For which, in fact, does it stand? In the controversies that divide men, however largely they may lean in one direction or the other, the equities are not, as a matter of fact, all on one side. No inequity, no apparent injustice, no disorder or disproportion in the relation of men to one another ever came to pass without there being considerations on either hand which needed to be taken into account. No great evil ever grew up into dominant

place and influence without having, as part of it, certain considerations, which, if they did not, at least in some measure, excuse it, must necessarily qualify our condemnation of it. In almost all the issues which have divided men there has been, in other words, something to be said on both sides.

It is time, I think, that this was frankly recognized; and, if that is to be done anywhere, it ought pre-eminently to be in regard to those questions which concern the work to be done by the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor. There are other associations, as I need not remind you, which are devoted to these interests, but upon a somewhat different basis. They have in view the righting of certain wrongs, the resistance of certain encroachments upon their rights, the resentment of certain injustices. But in their principles and methods concerning these things they do not profess to be influenced by motives which are derived from their fellowship in the Christian Church, or by principles inspired by its teachings. But we do. Ours is not only an association for the advancement of the interests of labor, it is a Church association to that end.

And what does this involve? Plainly, I think, that we should be influenced and controlled by those principles which are those of the Founder of the Church. What are they? Fraternity? Most assuredly; but equity, and charity, and forbearance as well. Nothing is more impressive in the earthly ministry of Jesus, and in that of His chief Apostles in this connection than what I may call their wise and equitable reserve. The social order of their time was, God knows, evil enough and corrupt enough; but, mark with what patience and self-control they wrought and spoke! The world of their time was full of evil forces and of evil men; but how little they scolded or denounced them! Instead, they stated great principles; they opened the

#### 44 BISHOP POTTER, THE PEOPLE'S FRIEND

eyes of men to a new vision of their relations to one another; and then they left these principles and that vision to do their work in the hearts and consciences of men.

I am persuaded, men and brethren, that, however widely in any good cause we have departed from their methods, we may now wisely return to them. There is a time undoubtedly for strong and vehement speech and it may be also for extreme and, as it may seem to some people, almost revolutionary modes of action. But such times are these, I submit, when there is, concerning a situation, a tendency, a tyranny of whatever sort, profound and wide-spread apathy, indifference and heartlessness. One justification with reference to what today we are doing as a nation in regard to a neighboring island, long the victim of precisely these injustices, rest upon this basis; but, in the matter of those great industrial questions with which pre-eminently the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor is concerned, the case is a very different one. There is today, in regard to those questions, profound and widespread inquiry, a frank acknowledgment that they involve apparently conflicting interests that urgently need readjustment, and, especially on the part of Christian men almost everywhere in the civilized world—here, in Russia, in France, in Great Britain and her colonies, and elsewhere, a hearty sympathy with those who are striving for such readjustment.

It cannot be denied that it has not always been so, and that that tremendous industrial revolution (it can be described in no more measured terms) which has taken place during this century, owing mainly to the discovery and adoption of mechanical appliances in connection with labor, has been carried forward, in many instances, in large indifference to the interests of workingmen and women. The wonders which mechanical appliances in connection

with manufactures, and, indeed, with almost all forms of industry, have achieved; the greater cheapness and the greater consumption which have followed upon this, the increased incentives to trade and commerce which have been the result of both; these, it must be owned, have dazzled the eyes and blinded the judgments of men as to their effects upon what is more precious than machinery, or manufactures, or wealth, or national expansion, and that is, MAN; and especially to the wellbeing of that vast majority of the race which, under the most civilized conditions of life, must always mainly earn its bread with its hands.

But I do not think that it can any longer be said that, in regard to these questions, there is today either prevalent ignorance or indifference. As to this, there can hardly be any better evidence than which is afforded by the literature of a generation; and of this kind the testimony is ample and convincing. From Mr. Wykoff's admirable volume, "The Workers," all the way up to the most recondite discussion of the great questions of demand and supply, the range, the variety, the scientific acuteness, the painstaking candor of what today may almost be called our industrial literature is at once profoundly interesting and profoundly inspiring. The relations of sociological questions to the life and the aims of the workingman have enlisted the interest and commanded the pens of scholars in both hemispheres and of the first rank. Their conclusions are not, it is true, always identical—which, indeed, is hardly to be expected—but, if any one of us has undertaken to keep abreast of that literature, he must, at least, have been impressed with the note of hope which thrills through it all—and in none of it with more clear and inspiring ring than in what has proceeded from the pens of Christian men, moved and persuaded by the conviction that the only sufficient solution for our social and industrial

problems lies in the application to them of the all-embracing and ever-pertinent principles of the religion of Jesus Christ. We read Mr. Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" or "Equality" and some ardent apostle of the rights of man cries out, "Ah, here is the solution of all our difficulties, the righting of all our wrongs!" If anybody thinks so let me beg of him to read the calm and temperate, but most conclusive volume by Professor George Harris, entitled, "Inequality and Progress," with its clear and quickening demonstration of the enormous value, as a stimulus to service, as an incentive to sacrifice, as a supreme motive for the practical realization of the ideal of human brotherhood, of inequalities. That thing which, as I turn my face towards the future, my brothers, seems to me to be climbing up above the horizon, is not any patent ready-made republic, in which almost all liberty of action or of achievement, whether in Letters, or in Art, or in the industrial world, is taken away from you and me, and the whole face of human society reduced to the dead level of a dreary commonplace; in which men and women everywhere shall dress alike in paper costumes, which will need no washing and which can be burned up every evening; but rather that diviner republic, with Jesus Christ as its Head, in which he of largest gifts will have learned that his noblest and sweetest use of them is not for his own gain or his own aggrandizement, but for every weaker, lowlier, less endowed brother or sister who may need to have a narrow and sordid life touched with the hand of brotherly help and illumined by the light of brotherly love.

The signs that such a day is drawing upon us, though its coming may not be so swift as we desire, are to be recognized, I believe, on every hand. Never since Jesus Christ entered the world was there so deep and anxious a concern for the things which in the life and work of His Church are funda-

mental. Too soon, after His visible Ministry among men was ended did that Church begin to concern Herself with things that were external, and seek to aggrandize Herself by converting to the uses of a sordid and secular ambition the weapons which the decaying empire of Rome had prepared to her hand. Too long through all the ages that have elapsed since then has the Church been contending for things that to Jesus Christ Himself were secondary and not primary, and of which He made little, if He made anything at all. The records of her ambitions, Her divisions, Her persecutions, and, above all, of Her indifference to the cry of the needy and the oppressed, furnish not the least humiliating pages in Her history. But now at last She has awakened out of Her slumbers, and many of Her best minds in those branches of Her which are most vital and fruitful of all best things are today alert and unresting in their endeavors to beckon and attract Her towards a better way.

At such a moment, men and brethren, what is our becoming attitude with reference to those endeavors and to the great questions with which they are concerned? Surely, first, and last, and all the time, one of hearty sympathy and co-operation. The attitude of labor in our generation has not always been a wise or a just one towards its best friends. The class-feeling among us, which is often as strong on the one side as on the other, has more than once made the sons of labor distrust and antagonize every man and woman who was not in all respects identified with themselves. It has not been recognized that, in the final view of the great questions that have divided labor and capital, their interests *are not antagonistic, but one and the same*. The final statement in the whole business is simply and bluntly this—that neither one of them can do without the other. Capital can paralyze labor by withholding itself from it; but the process by which it



does so paralyzes capital as absolutely and as utterly as it does labor. In spite of what fierce voices on the one side or the other are fond of shouting, it is not a question which of the two shall be "on top." *Neither can be on top*—healthfully, fruitfully, or permanently. There is absolutely only one relation which they can surely sustain to one another, and that is—**THEY MUST WALK HAND IN HAND.**

It is because they have helped to teach this lesson that modern civilization may well thank God—however impatient capitalists or the public may from time to time have been of them—for trade unions. As against sporadic, disorganized, intermittent, and individualistic endeavors of the friends of labor seeking to promote fair dealing and to secure justice, the trade union movement has stood for that great principle which subordinates minor differences for the greater good of all. It has seized and, on the whole, ably utilized the vast force of organization and centralized authority; and it has helped other men to realize, whether their strength were capital or cleverness, that the organized working force of the country was something seriously to reckon with.

In the conferences, controversies, and collisions of the two great forces, that have so often stood over against each other, there have been some things on both sides to regret; but not without recognizing that from even the most serious collisions valuable lessons are to be drawn. One of them is—that brute force is the poorest of all arguments to be addressed to a reasoning being, whether it consists in one man's shutting a shop door in another man's face, or in the other man's breaking the skull of a "scab" with a brickbat or a club. Such methods, men and brethren, you know as well as I, are away down at the bottom in the reckoning of a civilized—much more of a Christian—people; and I trust that we shall be content to let them stay there.

On the other hand, those other methods which have lately been growing in favor among us, have increasingly demonstrated their value. "Let your moderation be known of all men," says the Apostle; "the Lord is at hand." These last words, you know, are often interpreted as meaning that he who wrote them believed that the end of the world was then near. But that interpretation forgets the much simpler and, as I cannot but think, much more natural interpretation, that Christ is forever at hand to guide His people. "Remember His readiness" (says the Apostle); "in situations where passion might easily rule the hour; look to Him for help; and in His spirit strive for justice and righteousness."

For myself, men and brethren, I believe profoundly that His Spirit has been behind that great movement, in many of those recent differences between those who work and those who pay, which has sought to find the solution of those differences by means of friendly and mutually candid arbitration. As I have said more than once: In all such arbitrations of which I have had any personal knowledge, the representatives of workingmen have shone by virtue of their self-restraint, their patient courtesy, their love of fair dealing, their open-mindedness to a just argument, their cheerful readiness to meet concession with concession, and their disposition to make a bridge over which order and harmony might pass—quite as much as by what they surrendered as by what they claimed. I do not say that it has always been so; I only speak of what I myself have seen and known; but I am persuaded that the time may not be far distant when everywhere it shall be so, in larger and larger degree, and with more and more blessed and happy results.

To that end, men and brethren, let us who are here tonight anew pledge ourselves. The world, amid all its strivings and failures, its sharp rivalries,

its clever over-reachings, its blind and bitter hatred of success and the successful, still "groaneth and travaileth together in pain until now" for the coming of Christ's better day; the day of **MUTUAL LOYALTY AND LOVE.**

What, do you ask me, is to hasten it? First, I answer, the acceptance, not of any human, but of one Divine Leader, the carpenter's SON, **JESUS CHRIST** of Nazareth. And then, in the power of His Spirit, the daily living of our Apostle's law of life: "Let your moderation—your sweet reasonableness—be known unto all men;" moderation in your desires; moderation in your indulgences. Do you know that the annual drink bill of the United States is \$900,000,000, and that of this \$800,000,000, it has been estimated is spent annually by wage-earners, and mainly in corner rum shops?\*; by moderation in our speech and judgments of other men, whose burdens and perplexities, though they are not workingmen, are often greater than theirs who are—let me commend to your thoughtful reading in this connection a very suggestive story, entitled, "The Mills of the Little Tin Gods," in the May number of the **COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE**—that moderation, in one word, which is the fruit of intelligence, of reflection, of faith in our brother man, and, most of all, of faith in God Who rules the world and men; and Who one day will make the one the home—perfect and all-sufficient—for the other!

Sermons of this character were of value in promoting the recognition of organized labor and inculcating the lessons of mutual forbearance in the fierce conflicts between capital and labor, and were among the influences leading to

\* "See Laborer and the Capitalist," Witley, p. 160.

a further movement—namely, the formation of a committee of conciliation and mediation.

It was quite natural that C. A. I. L. should endeavor to promote peace by efforts to bring employers and employes to a better understanding. At the time of the great strike, which wrought such disaster and destruction in the mining districts of Illinois, Father Huntington did a notable work as a Knight of Labor, gaining admission to the Miners' Assembly and giving his counsel to his fellow-Knights, and afterwards presenting their cause to their employers; thus acting as mediator between the contending parties, he was able to bring about a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of their difficulties.

In 1893 through the organization of a committee of mediation and arbitration a practical step was taken of profound importance. The subject had been discussed by individuals, and in this country much is due to the writings and efforts of Josephine Shaw Lowell, whose book upon the subject puts in concise form valuable information. This forward step, however, was not taken by an individual pleading for peace, but by a Church association in the formation of a committee with a great ecclesiastic and citizen consenting to serve as its chairman. This is believed to be the first committee of the kind in

this country formed by any society outside of the labor unions.

Nothing can be better in this connection than to use the account given at the C. A. I. L. Conference in Washington, May, 1900, by Mr. William Harmon Van Allen, secretary of the society when the committee was formed.

#### C. A. I. L. AND MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION.

It was in 1893 that some of us felt we had done a good deal of talking, which was good in its place; but we thought we must do something else besides talk. The C. A. I. L. people from the very first believed trade-unions to be good things, and, with all their faults, we love them still. They and we both felt that the greatest ill is in the strike. A dishonorable peace, of course, is always worse than war; but warfare even in this connection is a bad thing—simply the lesser of two evils. One evening I went over to Brooklyn to the house of one of the members of our executive committee, and we talked over conciliation and mediation. We concluded that it would be a good thing in industrial war if there could be a third party who, from a disinterested standpoint, could amicably adjust matters. This third party already existed in the State board of arbitration, which had not done much in these days—it has done more since; and we thought it might be better if a third party should come, not in the name of the law, but of Christ. The thought came to me more intensely than ever before that the Church is a visible organization of the Kingdom of God here on earth, and that it can do work no secular power can do.

We were sure that, if we formed such a committee, it must be of persons in whom the world

could have absolute confidence. By its establishment, we might succeed in averting strikes; we might patch up a truce. Our aim at first was conciliation. We did not yet think of arbitration. I hardly believe you would think me a narrow-minded bigot because my mind turned at once to the Right Reverend the Bishop of the diocese. Why? Because he was a bishop. It is sometimes said that bishops are proud and arrogant people. If so, the best way is to cause them to realize that they are shepherds of all the flock. We had no prejudice against capital, and my thoughts next turned to Mr. Seth Low, as the man most suitable for that side of the committee. The third member of the board should be a member of a labor union, and we had one at hand—Mr. John Newton Bogart—a member of C. A. I. L. and of the Typographical Union. This appeared in thought to be well arranged. Thought, however, is one thing and action is another; and it was with a great deal of trepidation that I approached Bishop Potter. We are so respectable in these days that one can hardly believe how we were looked upon then. We were called socialists and anarchists, with that happy disregard for discrimination in those terms which was common at that time. I did not know that the Bishop himself would not be afraid of the organization and refuse our request. Instead of that being the case, he at once responded favorably. Mr. Seth Low took a little more time to make up his mind. He was curious about the matter, and asked many questions—especially whether the labor unions would consider a board going to them in the name of the Church. There were no questions at all asked by our friend of "Big Six." He saw the value of the proposition and accepted it at once. There was a good deal of adverse criticism from the public in the early days of this committee. It was said it would be better if the Church people would mind their own business, which was to pray. We

thought it was the business of Church people to build up the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. Employers seemed to be especially puzzled that we should feel there was any need of such a committee. You know it is often impossible for an employer to realize that his business is any one else's business. Some of them said: "Let the Church people attend to their prayers, and let business men run their own affairs." There were two or three cases where employers refused to consider any mediation. The workmen were anxious for peace, and the failure to mediate rested, not with the trade union, but with the employer. Very soon there came a great industrial difficulty. It was the first submitted to this board, which in the beginning was made up of Churchmen.

This first great affair was peacefully settled, with some little protest on the part of the employers to the effect that the settlement was not altogether fair to them. But President Boren said that he would be willing to leave the whole matter in the hands of Henry C. Potter, the Bishop of New York. The work done by this board has won the respect everywhere, and by his just action the Bishop of the diocese now possesses not only what he had before, the respect and confidence of capitalists, but that of workingmen as well. I remember how this was illustrated one night in Cooper Union, when a vast audience cheered at the name of Henry C. Potter, realizing, perhaps, for the first time what he really was to them. So C. A. I. L. has done something when it has brought about such a recognition as that of practical religion. Let us hope the time is approaching when we shall talk less about Christianity and see more of its true action.

In 1894 this Committee was increased in number and was afterwards called "The New

York Council of Mediation and Conciliation." Its members were divided into those representing the public, capital and the labor unions. For the former the Right Rev. H. C. Potter, president, Hon. Seth Low, Professor Felix Adler, Mrs. C. R. Lowell, Miss M. E. J. Kelley; for the second, Charles Stewart Smith, Clinton W. Sweet, Charles A. Cowen, Walter F. See, James R. Strong; and for the labor unions, Edward King, Chris Evans, H. Oscar Cole, C. W. Hoadley, John N. Bogart, secretary.

In the Constitution occurs the following clause:

"The Council shall not constitute itself a body of arbitrators excepting at the express request of both parties to a controversy, to be signified in writing."

**COPY OF CIRCULAR LETTER SENT TO EMPLOYERS  
AND LABOR UNIONS.**

**TO EMPLOYERS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN NEW  
YORK CITY:**

The undersigned having an earnest desire to prevent or to settle, if possible, some of the disputes that so often arise between employer and employe, on questions of wages and other matters connected with the various trades of New York City, have organized under the title of "The New York Council of Mediation and Conciliation."

In order to place themselves in a true light before the public, they wish it understood that their services are purely voluntary, and that the only object they have in view is to bring the employer and employe closer together in their business relations with each other.



The Council consists of fifteen members, including employers, members of labor organizations, and other persons whose interest is to try and promote the wellbeing of both employers and employes.

In order to attain the objects proposed, the Council holds itself ready to act in pursuance of the following methods, adopted as a guide for the work they have in view:

1. By indicating to employers and employes in any given business the best methods of forming boards of conciliation, whereby questions of common interest shall be settled between themselves. Such boards have been formed in important trades, both in this country and elsewhere and have for years prevented strikes and lockouts in the trades, since conciliatory methods have been adopted. Boards of conciliation may be formed either for a whole trade in a given locality, or between the employers and employes of a single firm. The experience already obtained by both methods is valuable, and may be studied with profit by all persons desiring to establish peaceful methods for preventing and settling labor disputes.

2. By tendering their services to bring about a friendly conference between employers and employes, when, in the absence of a trade board of conciliation questions have arisen which threaten a suspension of work or other disturbance.

3. By acting as arbitrators in any case where trouble has already occurred and when both employers and employes invite them in writing to do so.

The Secretary of the Council will receive and answer letters of inquiry.

HENRY C. POTTER,  
C. W. HOADLEY,  
JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL,  
CHRIS EVANS,

SETH LOW,  
JOHN N. BOGART, SEC.  
H. OSCAR COLE,  
CHAS. A. LOWELL.

The new council was recognized and welcomed by organized labor and the press of the country.

The following letter from Bishop Potter explains itself:

April 24th, 1895.

MY DEAR MR. BOGART:

In accordance with the request of the Chairman of the Committee to which we referred the communication of the Painters' & Decorators' Union, I have called a meeting of the Board of Conciliation, etc., for this evening at 29 Lafayette Place. I regret that my official appointments for today and tomorrow take me to Sullivan and Rockland Counties. Kindly make my excuses. I enclose a communication from Mr. Strong which will explain itself.

Faithfully yours,

H. C. POTTER.

The following notice from the New York Herald is instructive, because it shows what Bishop Potter so often indicated, the readiness of wage-workers to accept methods pointing towards peace. This and kindred movements on the part of organized labor did much to disabuse the public mind of the idea that trade unions were organized for the purpose of exploiting walking delegates and strikers. C. A. I. L. has done a great deal to put the trade unions in a better light before the public; and this was necessary to promote that public opinion which ultimately will insist upon the settlement of all labor disputes without lockouts,

the black list, boycotts, and kindred methods of warfare.

WALKING DELEGATES TIRED OF STRIKES AND  
INTERNECINE FIGHTS OF UNIONS.

The walking delegates have been trying to get up a plan by which strikes will be abolished and labor troubles be settled by artibration.

Walking Delegate C. W. Hoadley, who represents Electrical Workers' Union, No. 3, on the board, brought up the matter at yesterday's meeting of the Central Labor Union, to which he is also a delegate. Here he said that strikes, as a rule, were useless and expensive weapons, and that workmen often struck without counting the cost. Since the last general lockout of the members of Electrical Union, No. 3, there has been a series of cut-throat strikes between it and Electrical Union, No. 5.

Several ineffectual attempts were made to harmonize the two unions, and finally it was decided to ask Bishop Potter to arbitrate the trouble. The Bishop is the President of the New York Council of Mediation and Conciliation.

This suggestion, continued Delegate Hoadley, came originally from the employers, and the men, knowing that the Council of Mediation and Conciliation was a disinterested body, concluded that it was the proper one to arbitrate the matter. So they asked Bishop Potter to lay the matter before the Council, and received the following letter from him in reply:

No. 10 Washington Square, North.

May 27, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. HOADLEY:

Your letter of the 25th inst. reached me last evening. I will at once submit it to the Council of Mediation and Conciliation, and do not doubt that

they will be willing to undertake the arbitration which you request. Due notice will be given of the time and place of arbitration. Meanwhile it will be well for your joint committee to indicate whether they desire to be heard through the full committee or by a sub-committee.

Very faithfully yours,

H. C. POTTER.

Delegate Hoadley then made a strong appeal in favor of arbitration instead of strikes.

Delegate Warner, of the machinists, expressed the opinion that no plan of arbitrations would render sympathetic strikes unnecessary. In his trade, he continued, a man seldom worked a full week on one building, and, if there were any trouble, the job would be finished before arbitration could be put in progress.

Hoadley said he did not mean to imply that sympathetic strikes would be done away with at once, but arbitration would gradually do away with them.

The meeting accepted Delegate Hoadley's report.

Hoadley said that both disputing unions will submit briefs to Bishop Potter, and the hearing will take place in about a week, probably in the United Charities Building.

THE STRIKE OF THE ELECTRICAL WORKERS  
RECEIVED ATTENTION.

10 Washington Square, North.

May 27th, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. BOGART:

Kindly call a meeting of the Council of Mediation and Conciliation at this address on Monday evening next, June 1, at 7:45 and state in the call that the meeting is called to consider a request for Arbitration on the part of the Brotherhood of Electrical

Workers in the matter of a difference between them and the Electrical Contractors' Association.

Very faithfully yours,

H. C. POTTER.

10 Washington Square, North.

June 1, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. BOGART:

Some days ago I wrote you as Secretary, requesting you to call a meeting of the Council of Mediation and Conciliation to take action upon a request from the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers No.—, in the matter of the differences between themselves and the Electrical Contractors' Association,—said meeting to be held at this address at 7:45 P. M. this evening. As no one has appeared, I feared my communication has missed you, and it is too late for me to take, personally, further action in the matter as I sail for Cherbourg on Thursday A. M. next. Under these circumstances, I must ask you to convene the Board of Mediation and Conciliation at 29 Lafayette Place, at an early day, and submit the enclosed communications. Both sides referred to therein are now preparing briefs and will be prepared to submit and argue them before the committee to be appointed from the Board of Mediation and Conciliation. Of this committee, as you will see, I have been asked by the Electrical Workers to act as chairman. But this I can do, if at all, for the reasons already indicated, only nominally. I would ask, however, that President Low and Professor Felix Adler be appointed upon that committee, with one or two others as the Board may indicate. The hearings can all be held at No. 29 Lafayette Place, at any time of the day or evening, due notice being given to the janitor, C. J. Barnard. I much regret that my absence will deprive me of the privilege of seeing those concerned, in this matter.

Faithfully yours,

H. C. POTTER.

The difficulty in the marble trade of New York City in 1896, adjusted by the Council of Conciliation and Mediation, excited great interest, because its adjustment prevented a strike. Several thousand men were involved—they had been working eight hours a day and there arose a difficulty about wages. Conferences between employers and employes failed to settle the dispute and, finally, it was agreed to refer the matter to the Board of Conciliation and Mediation. The matter took two weeks to settle and a committee representing both sides of the controversy met at the Bishop's house in Washington Square—there were night sessions in this period during which the Bishop gave his personal attention. He was pleased with the spirit of unity and said that especially the representatives of the workers showed an inclination to make concessions. The result was an amicable settlement with an increase of wages for the workers, and both sides were satisfied with the decision. One of the members of the committee said that, in his opinion, Bishop Potter, because of his great prominence and extended influence, had done probably more than any one other individual to break down the old-fashioned prejudice against organized labor, and to bring large employers of labor to a recognition of the advan-

tages of conciliation over strikes and lockouts in the settlement of trade disputes.

Mr. Charles W. Rogers, who was a prominent member of the Marble Workers' Union at the time of the dispute, said to me recently: "The memory of Bishop Potter is revered by the marble workers because he prevented the hardship and suffering of a strike."

## CHAPTER IV.

### ARBITRATION A SUCCESS—THE LITHOGRAPHERS' STRIKE.

THE following shows the success attending the settlement of a preplexing labor difficulty.

In the year 1890, the International Lithographic Artists' and Engravers' Insurance and Protective Association of the United States and Canada was organized for the purpose of maintaining the dignity, as well as to prevent the deterioration and retrogression, of the Artists' and Engravers' branch of the lithographic industry. In July, 1895, the New York subordinate association passed the following resolutions: "1. That piecework be declared a grievance. 2. That the General President take steps to collect moneys for an emergency fund. 3. That there be regulation and limitation of apprentices. 4. That \$18.00 be fixed as a minimum weekly wage." All subordinate associations endorsed these resolutions.

Then demands to this effect and, also, concerning the limitation of apprentices, a minimum weekly wage, etc., were presented to all the mas-



ter lithographers of the United States and Canada, in a letter from Francis Ficke, General Secretary and Treasurer.

In the meantime, the master lithographers of New York City had organized under the name of the Lithographic Association of the Metropolitan District. Thirty-nine masters formed this organization. As the demands of the subordinate association were treated with contempt in both Buffalo and New York, a strike became inevitable, and on February 24th, 1896, it began, the majority of the establishments being left without a man, except the foreman.

The branches known as the Theatrical Artists and the Lithographic Engravers, both of New York City, decided that, owing to depression in their particular branches of trade, they would make no demands upon employers, but they gave their striking brethren moral and financial support.

Carrying out a proposition from the subordinate association of employes, a board of arbitration was formed consisting of six members, three from the employing association and three from the employes. Meanwhile the men returned to work. Two or three conferences were held, and both sides submitted evidence for and against the demands of the men. At one of

these meetings it was determined that, if no decision could be reached, a seventh person outside the trade should be called in, and the choice fell upon Bishop Potter.

Bishop Potter on receipt of a letter from Mr. Ficke, mailed the following:

MY DEAR SIR:

Your letter of the 9th inst. has but this moment reached me. As it appears to be important that action should be at least initiated without delay, in the matter of which you write, I beg to say that I shall be at the service of the Board of Arbitration at my residence, 10 Washington Square North, tomorrow, Saturday evening, April 11th, at eight.

As to the matter of a stenographer, I should prefer the Board to exercise its own discretion. Any final settlement would, of course, have to be taken down in writing, but I am not disposed myself to think that it would be necessary to preserve the preliminary discussions.

Very faithfully yours,

H. C. POTTER.

New York, April 10, 1896.

BISHOP POTTER'S FIRST MEETING AS REFEREE  
WITH ARBITRATION BOARD.

All members of the Arbitration Board being present at the appointed time and place, 10 Washington Square, Mr. Robert M. Donaldson of L. A. M. D., Chairman of Arbitration Board, after introducing the members to the

Bishop, questioned the necessity of exchanging briefs with the committee representing the employes, "inasmuch as it would undoubtedly save a great deal of his Honor's valuable time, and also avoid the probability of further diversities of opinion on the already disputed questions, namely: 1. The abolition of piece-work. 2. The establishing of a minimum rate of wages. 3. What should constitute the weekly hours of labor."

Bishop Potter thereupon remarked that, in his opinion, in order to adjudicate the disputed points in equity, his time need not be considered. Mr. Ficke then explained the principles of the Artists' and Engravers' Association, the manipulation of the various branches of the lithograph business, and submitted the records of the previous meetings of the Arbitration Board, accompanied with briefs, also exchanging briefs with Mr. Donaldson. Bishop Potter at length desired to know whether it would be agreeable to submit the records and briefs to the Board of Mediation and Conciliation, which consisted of Professor Felix Adler, Honorable Seth Low, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, James R. Strong, Edward King, H. Oscar Cole, John N. Bogart and several other prominent persons.

There being no objection the meeting adjourned subject to the call of the Bishop.

The matters at issue were:

1. Whether or not piecework should be abolished.
2. Whether or not a minimum scale of wages of \$18.00 a week should be adopted.
3. Whether or not there should be certain limitations and regulations of the employment of apprentices.
4. The rate of wages to be paid for overtime, and
5. As to whether forty-four or forty-seven and a half hours should constitute the weekly hours of labor.

The employers had already conceded the demands as to the number of apprentices and as to overtime, admitting the justice of the contention that the number of apprentices should be limited, and that a higher rate of wages should be paid for overtime work than for labor performed during working hours. Supplemental briefs from both sides were submitted to Bishop Potter at the next meeting on May 4th, 1896. His decision follows:

DECISION.

10 Washington Square,  
May 8, 1896.

GENTLEMEN:

Having in reply to a request from the Board of Arbitration of the United Lithographers' Association

of the Metropolitan District and the New York Sub. Association of the International Lithographic Artists and Engravers' Insurance and Protective Association of the United States and Canada, undertaken to act as Arbitrator and Referee in certain matters at issue between their respective organizations, I beg to say that I have given the questions submitted to me the best consideration in my power. On the occasion of the first hearing of the representatives of the two disagreeing associations, on the evening of April 11, you will remember that, after submitting their respective briefs, and the submissions of such arguments as accompanied them, your Board agreed to meet at the call of the referee, and consented to his invoking meantime the aid and counsel of the Council of Mediation and Conciliation of which he is Chairman.

At a meeting of that body held on April 13th, the briefs submitted to you were communicated to it, and a committee was appointed to advise with the undersigned in regard to the Lithographers' strike. That committee consisted of Professor Felix Adler and Mr. Henry Oscar Cole. I have also been favored with an opinion by Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, a valued member of the Board of Conciliation.

The judgment of all these advisers concurs entirely with my own, and, indeed, I cannot do better in stating it than to use, as I shall do from time to time in this paper, as occasion may require, the language in which one or other of them has expressed it.

The questions originally at issue between the parties to this arbitration were, if I am correctly informed, the following: (a) the abolition of piece-work; (b) a minimum scale of wages at \$18.00 per week; (c) certain regulations as to the employment of apprentices; (d) the rate of wages to be paid for overtime work, and (e) whether forty-

four or forty-seven and a half hours should constitute the weekly hours of labor.

As I am advised, the arbitrators concurred substantially as to points (c) and (d) and as to these, therefore, I need not further refer. As to (e) the demand of the lithographic artists that forty-four hours should constitute the weekly hours of labor seems to me unreasonable. Their work is not especially exacting or exhausting, and, compared with many other kinds of labor, is done under agreeable conditions. My decision upon this point is that forty-seven and a half hours shall constitute the weekly hours of labor.

There remain only two other points concerning which the parties to the arbitration have been unable to reach an agreement namely, (a) and (b), relating respectively to the abolition of piecework, and a minimum scale of wages of \$18.00 per week. I concur in the opinion that these two points hang together, and cannot be considered or acted upon separately.

As to the first of them: The employers claim that payment by the piece is provocative of exertion on the part of the workman, and therefore to their interest. The employees claim, first, that payment by the piece stimulates to over-exertion and is therefore injurious to health; secondly, that it places the individual workman at the mercy of his employer by compelling the former, when the exigencies of competition lead to the lowering of prices, to accept a remuneration which, when stretched over the requisite number of weeks, materially diminishes his earnings. As to the charge of sloth urged by the employers against the operations of the wage-work system, The employees reply that a competent foreman can readily estimate the amount and quality of the work to be expected, and that the workman who fails to come up to such requirements can be discharged.

The gist of the matter seems to be this: There is a tendency at the present day among the working classes toward increasing solidarity. There is a strong movement among the employers of labor to resist this tendency. The conditions implied in the wage-work system are favorable to solidarity. Hence, the workmen demand it. The conditions implied in the piecework system allow the employer to deal with his men separately, and to isolate, more or less, the interest of each from his fellows. What should be the position of the arbitrator in such a conflict? If arbitration means compromise, I do not see how it is possible under these circumstances. There can be compromise as to hours of labor, as to amount of wages to be paid, as to number of apprentices to be allowed, etc. In fact, wherever the difference can be stated numerically, compromise seems clearly in order. But I do not see how there can be any compromise between opposing principles. If, nevertheless, the arbitrator or referee is required to give a decision, it seems to me he must consult his highest conscience as to which of the opposing tendencies make for the social good and side with one or the other of the parties accordingly. In the interest of arbitration as a means of settling labor disputes, this point should be clearly stated, so that the distinction between arbitration and compromise may come to be recognized.

Having called attention to this, I beg to add that I find myself constrained to decide in favor of the abolition of piecework. Though there is some uncertainty as to the evidence as to the usage in this matter, the weight of testimony would seem to be in favor of a growing acceptance throughout the country of the rule which disallows piecework. Such a rule undoubtedly makes it possible for an artist under certain conditions to take advantage of his employer. But his employer has, in the power of discharge, at least one effective corrective of any

such tendency, and a wise labor union will discourage such unfaithfulness by its own rules.

As to the remaining matter in controversy, the minimum wage, the term "minimum wage" appears to be something of a misnomer. A minimum wage means, of course, the least that shall be paid. Yet the employes themselves concede that less than \$18.00 shall be paid when it has been established by a joint committee that the value of an artisan's work is less. At the same time, if we look to the substance of the demand and waive the accuracy of the designating term, I think it is not difficult to see the object which the men wish to gain. It is to elect a barrier against the excessive cheapening of the product of their labor by competition. The desire for cheapness on the part of consumers—a desire to which manufacturers and merchants are willing to yield, so long as they can secure a profit—is undoubtedly prolific of evil results to the working class and is today one of the greatest dangers against which they have to contend. And it is this desire which one of the parties to the present dispute is seeking to resist by providing for a fixed wage, below which cheapness shall not be allowed to descend, although less, indeed, as has been admitted, may be paid, if the workman is worth less. But it must be distinctly established that he is, and the presumption will be in favor of the higher wage.

From all that has been said, it will be evident to you to which side, on the two points mentioned, my judgment bends. I regard the abolition of piecework in the lithographer's trade and a fixed wage, with the provisions above stated, as measures in harmony with the tendencies that make for social progress, and, therefore, decide in favor of the men on these points.

Believe me, Gentlemen,  
Faithfully yours,  
HENRY C. POTTER.



On receipt of the decision, the General Secretary immediately telegraphed the welcome news to the various subordinate associations throughout the United States and Canada.

The committee representing the employes forwarded the following to Bishop Potter:

New York, May 11th, 1896.

RIGHT REV. HENRY C. POTTER,  
New York City:

HONORED SIR:

Your letter to the Board embodying your decision in the matter of arbitration before yourself as referee between the Master and Journeymen Artist Lithographers' Association has been duly received.

I am directed by the representatives of the journeymen artists upon the board to extend to you our thanks for your uniform courtesy, and for the trouble you have taken in this matter. Not alone the members of the Board, but the members of our Association, appreciate more than we can express, either on paper or verbally, your kindness in consenting to give so much of your valuable time as you have given in arriving at a thorough understanding of the true inwardness of the controversy which you have just decided.

As you intimated to the Board at its first meeting that the only recompense you desired from the parties to the controversy for your labor was that a photograph of the entire Board should be taken, inasmuch as we can do no more that we know of to show our appreciation of your kindness, we would say that in that regard we are heartily at your service at any time that you may think fit to select, and we would suggest that you should cor-

respond with the members of the Board representing the employers, and fix a day convenient to them and yourself for the taking of the photograph, as any time which you may name will be convenient to us.

We would like to hear from you also as to whether you consider that a further meeting of the Board is necessary for any purpose, and, if so, what is the earliest moment at which you will be able to call the Board together to meet with you.

Thanking you again and hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience, I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

FRANCIS FICKE,  
Secretary.

One can well see that settlements of this character not only tended to pacification at the time they were made; but also gave great hope and inspiration for the future.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE BISHOP OPPOSES THE SWEATING SYSTEM AND FAVORS TENEMENT HOUSE REFORM.

FROM the beginning the C. A. I. L. contended against the sweating system. It will be remembered that one of the earliest acts of the society was passing a resolution, in which was incorporated a clause protesting against sub-contracts, which in these later times have quite generally received attention as helps to the continuance of the sweating system. The war has been carried on by the Society through the means of legislative enactments, demands for increased factory inspection and by continued investigation of conditions leading to this evil. Its latest demand is, that manufacturing of clothing, cigars, etc., shall be taken out of the tenement houses, the last refuge of unscrupulous manufacturers. This, however, will be referred to under the head of tenement house reform.

The Bishop was always interested in the efforts of the Society to minimize, and finally destroy, the sweating system, and had an opportunity to express this forcibly at a time when

the cloakmakers of the East Side, struck against that abuse. I happened to be organizer of the General Society, and a member of St. Michael's Chapter, as I was a communicant of that parish. Dr. Bryan, a woman intensely interested in labor problems—a communicant, but not of St. Michael's parish—asked me to request Dr. Peters to call a meeting in St. Michael's, to hear the plea of the striking cloakmakers. Dr. Peters immediately expressed his willingness, and obtained the consent of Bishop Potter, who presided at the meeting held under the auspices of St. Michael's Chapter of C. A. I. L., on March 2d, 1895.

Two delegates from the Cloakmakers' Union, who had signified their intention of representing their organization at the meeting, were invited to supper at Dr. Peters', and I had the pleasure also of an invitation. After supper we went to the church close by and the meeting began.

The Bishop explained that one of his purposes in coming was to give his hearty sanction to the holding of such a meeting in an Episcopal church. He said that he approved thoroughly of the purposes of the Association and of the methods which it had adopted in bringing the subjects in which it is interested before the public. Referring to capital and labor Bishop Potter said, "We are apt to look upon society as being divided into two classes, capital and labor. As a matter of fact, there are

three classes! For instance: I represent neither labor nor capital. Nevertheless, I am a laboring man and probably work harder than four hundred and ninety-nine out of five hundred men designated as laboring men. Still, I am not technically a laboring man. There is a great middle class that is neither labor nor capital, and it is to reach this middle class and keep it informed of the progress of labor, that this Society has been formed, and the use of this sacred edifice permitted for the use of this meeting. The Bishop then referred to the unchristian character of underpaid labor.

The Reverend J. B. Reynolds, Vice-President of C. A. I. L., explained the objects of the Society. "This C. A. I. L.," he said, is primarily an educational society. It must be very distinctly understood that this Association is not committed to any political, or reform theory, except so far as insisting upon the practical application of the law of love to the solution of the difficult social problems of the day. This Society endeavors to spread abroad the practical application of Christian principles.

The Reverend Dr. Peters said: "In the cloakmakers' strike an effort was made by the Board of Mediation and Conciliation to arbitrate the difficulty, but the employers refused to arbitrate, and the effort therefore was a failure. C. A. I. L. takes a peculiar interest in the cloakmakers' strike. I think we comfortable people on the West Side ought to understand and inquire into the distress and suffering of the people of the East Side, and, as members of the Church, endeavor to do what we can to ameliorate their condition, and enable these men who work hard to have a fair share of the proceeds of their toil.

Mr. Rosenthal, representing the cloakmakers, explained how the manufacturers oppressed their work people so that an experienced cloakmaker could

average but six to eight dollars a week, and that the manufacturers begrudged them even that. He thought the workmen should receive at least enough to enable them to spare the services of their children, so that they might attend school and become true Americans.

At the close of the meeting, as organizer of C. A. I. L., I was asked to speak and did so briefly. Thus, in 1895, in a church, the speakers represented, as opposed to sweating, were the Bishop of the Diocese, two clergymen, a woman of the laity, and two delegates from the Cloakmakers' Union.

In addition to the formation of a committee on organized labor in 1895, a sweatshop committee was organized, and, later, under the leadership of the Rev. Francis J. Clay Moran, B. D., continued to help in the work of the minimization of sweating. Dr. Moran, by temperament and education was fitted to do this great work. His father, a clergyman of the Church of England, had been associated with Lord Ashley in the work which resulted in a bill for the protection of women and children in the mines. Dr. Moran had personally settled strikes, because he was able to bring to the consideration of such matters a just appreciation of the claims of both labor and capital. C. A. I. L. has always appreciated, as also did Bishop Potter, its president, the work of Dr. Moran.

Since its formation in 1887, C. A. I. L. has seen a change in the sweating industries, because improved factory inspection and better labor laws have certainly produced better conditions; but the destruction of sweating has not yet been accomplished. The serpent is scotched, not killed.

A tenement house committee was also formed in 1895, to continue the work begun in 1887. This committee had at one time for its chairman, Mr. John Bagley Day, an architect, deeply interested in the subject of tenement house reform, and whose model tenement house plans received honorable mention at the Tenement House Exposition of the Charity Organization Society. Mr. Day was compelled through pressure of business to resign as chairman, but has always remained a member of the committee. Dr. Daniel, out-of-door physician for the infirmary for Women and Children, a tenement house expert and a recognized authority on sweating, became in 1905 chairman of this committee, in which position she has served with fidelity and devotion. It is the belief of Dr. Daniel that the manufacture of clothing, cigars, etc., should be taken out of tenement houses. She was supported in this by the Society, at first almost alone, but public opinion is fast changing, and societies once opposed, now ask

for this action, which, although drastic would seem to be the only authoritative method of reform.

An obstacle in the way of this measure is, that the Act of 1882, in New York prohibiting the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses was declared unconstitutional.

The tenement house committee, realizing that the living conditions under the new tenement house laws of the State of New York are better than before, yet are confronted by the problem of overcrowding, on account of the higher rents demanded by the landlords. Dr. Moran authorized by C. A. I. L., brought before the Board of Aldermen of New York the possibility of municipal tenements. A hearing was had, and Dr. Moran showed what had been done in this direction in Europe, instancing particularly, the work of the London County Council. Dr. Daniel supported him in the demand for municipal housing; but New York does not seem to be yet ready for such a measure.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE BISHOP'S INTEREST IN THE WORK OF THE CHILDREN.

OUR readers have noted by a quotation in Chapter I. from a sermon of Bishop Potter, then Rector of Grace Church, New York, that he was interested in the reforms concerning the employment of children. This interest never flagged. The work of C. A. I. L. in this direction began early in behalf of the children in retail stores. Bishop Potter in connection with this society was able to aid this reform in different States in the interest of factory children, and, later, in the South, where the laws were so inadequate.

No mention of the work for the children of the poor in New York City would be complete without mention of the name of Dr. Annie S. Daniel, the beloved physician of the East Side. Dr. Daniel is an Episcopalian and is profoundly dominated by the ethics of Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth. She was early in the field in her efforts to help minimize, and eventually destroy, the work of children. She became in 1881 the tenement house physician of

the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, and was able in connection with her regular work to observe and protest against abuse.

In 1881, she prepared an article on "Tenement House Work," bringing in the labor of children, which article was published in the *Christian Union*. In 1884, she testified before the New York State Legislative Committee of which Felix Adler was chairman. Again, in 1892, she was called to testify before a legislative commission from Washington, appointed to study the subject of sweating in tenement houses. In public and in private she has been untiring in her efforts to expose abuses and urge their reform.

In December, 1902, when interest in the matter of Southern legislation had been aroused, a number of *Hammer and Pen*, the official organ of the Society, was devoted to facts in connection with child labor throughout the country, and contained a strong editorial—by Edward Ransford, editor—and on account of an investigation of the work of children in the Glass Works of Southern New Jersey, made by Miss Keyser, secretary and organizer of the Society.

When legislation in different Southern States was going on, a meeting to discuss the subject of Child Labor was held at the Tuxedo, Madison Avenue and 59th Street, on Thursday even-

ing, January 8, 1903, the Rev. John P. Peters, Ph. D., in the chair. The Service was said by the Rev. James Bishop Thomas, Ph. D. The chairman, without any extended remarks, introduced the Right Rev. H. C. Potter, Bishop of New York, who made a brief address:

Some years ago, he said, "I went into a New England town, and was very much struck with the shade trees in the streets. New England pays more attention to such matters than New York and Pennsylvania. I said that the avenue of maples was very remarkable, giving an unusual charm to the place, and learned that it was the work of one woman, who was once a school-teacher in the town. She deplored the wide streets without any shade, and, accordingly, invited a meeting of the citizens to consider the matter. It was attended by only eleven persons. Another meeting resulted in the remarkable work I saw. I want you, my brothers and sisters of C. A. I. L., to remember this incident in the work against child labor for which you stand. You must be persistent; sometimes you must be disagreeable; you must be the irritating grain of sand. An illustration of this is found here on the platform in the person of my friend, Dr. Peters. In a certain part of this city a highway was saved from obstruction, because Dr. Peters made himself disagreeable.

I found in my letter-box today a communication from somebody who wanted to know what would be the advantage of a meeting like this, and said that the only way to regulate the labor of children is by civil enactment. I do not believe that. It is one of our modern illusions. We think we can do everything by going to Albany and getting a law passed. You can get a thousand laws passed; but they will not enact themselves. That government

alone is effectual, which has behind it an alert public conscience. We want to consider carefully who is responsible for these things. A poor family came under my observation where there were eight children driven out in the morning to earn something, while the father spent his time in the saloon over which he lives. You and I are not responsible for this; the child is under the responsibility of the parent. I hope at this meeting you will deal with this side of the question with candor and insight. It is the tendency of a civilization like ours to devolve more and more private obligations upon the public. Men and women become a public charge at forty or forty-five, because someone undermined their constitutions between the ages of nine and seventeen.

The Bishop concluded by saying:

One of the most tragic elements in the whole question is this: 'Evil is wrought by want of thought as well as by want of heart.' May God give us the courage to deal with this question!"

Other speakers were Dr. Daniel, who told of the work of children in tenement houses; Robert Hunter, head worker of the University Settlement and Miss Harriette A. Keyser, secretary of C. A. I. L.

During this year, 1903, the secretary, Miss Keyser, was sent South to aid in the legislative efforts which resulted in better laws.

Later, C. A. I. L. received a new member of great earnestness and efficiency and at the C. A. I. L. Convention of 1906 Miss Lily F. Foster, a Deputy State Factory Inspector, read a paper entitled, "Legalized Child Labor."

This paper referred to the fact that children's labors unfit them to think, and was illustrated by the example of a young mother, seventeen years of age who had worked in a factory, since she was a small child, had a finger of her right hand torn off. The young woman said: "When I saw my work had caught my finger and was drawing it slowly but surely into the machine—I could only scream; I knew I ought to do something; but I forgot what it was—I was so frightened—" Within easy reach of that young woman was a brake which would have stopped that machine almost instantly. She used it time and again every day; but she could not save herself because years of overwork and mental starvation had deprived her brain of the power to think and act in the presence of danger.

Another case cited was that of two little girls assisting in operating a power machine which feeds packages to them at the rate of eighty a minute, and sets the pace for their work— They must keep up— The children grasp and lift the packages, pack them into boxes at the rate of eighty (80) a minute, 4,800 an hour, for nine hours a day—a total of 43,200 lbs. a day, 259,200 lbs. a week—more than 120 tons a week, lifted and packed by these children.

The speaker referred to the need of a Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor in the State of New York where 90,000 children are employed, and also the need of a physician to whom the inspector might appeal when she finds children physically and mentally unable to perform their labors.

The Bureau should be a clearing house for factory children. All employment certificates issued to children should be issued from the Children's Bureau.

A separate and distinct certificate should be given to boys and girls, and should state on the face of

it what kind of labor the child is fitted for, and how many hours a day it may consistently labor.

Miss Foster finished by calling the attention of the convention to three points:

1. An Eight-hour day for children. That surely would be progression.

2. The establishment of a Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor where the mental and physical condition of the children shall be determined by competent examiners, including at least one physician, and which shall require the child to be presented for re-examination and a new certificate every six months.

3. That no child shall be permitted to assist in operating power machinery, however well guarded.

When we have such a Bureau miles of nerve-racking, brain-destroying, child-killing machines will stand idle, or be operated by adults.

After the conclusion of Miss Foster's address, Miss Harriette A. Keyser offered the following resolution:

Knowing that the present-time children are permitted to work nine hours a day; therefore, be it

Resolved, That, C. A. I. L. urges legislation for and eight-hour day between eight in the morning and five in the afternoon, for children.

Resolved, That as children are allowed to operate and assist in operating power machinery, resulting in physical and mental degeneration, we urge an amendment to the labor laws prohibiting children from operating or assisting in operating power machinery.

The resolution was referred to the Resolution Committee. Commissioner John Newton Bogart requested that this resolution,

through the medium of a fraternal delegate from C. A. I. L., might be offered at the convention of the State Federation of Labor, to be held in September

Mr. Bogart was elected fraternal delegate from C. A. I. L. to the Workingmen's State Federation convention, and the measure was endorsed by that body, in September of the same year.

Bishop Potter, as President of C. A. I. L., to which office, after the death of Bishop Huntington, he had been elected in May, 1905, used his powerful influence in support of the bill, which was not only aided by the State Workingmen's Federation but by the State Child Labor Committee, the Consumers' League and other societies outside of organized labor. C. A. I. L. held meetings in the parish houses and drawing-rooms in aid of the bill. Some of the societies wished to weaken the bill by leaving the time of the hours unrestricted, believing that it could not be passed, but C. A. I. L. stood firm for eight hours, from eight a. m. to five p. m.

A legislative committee was formed, with Miss L. T. Foster as chairman, and a bill was passed and Senator Alfred R. Page was asked to introduce it. In reply he said: "I will not only introduce the bill, but will do all in

my power to secure its passage." He nobly redeemed this promise.

The bill was introduced on the first day of the session, passed the Senate unanimously, and was referred to the Labor and Industries Committee of the Assembly. It was reported out of this committee amended, the hours of labor being changed from eight in the morning to seven, and from five in the evening to seven. The bill was afterwards restored to the original provisions, and passed. After a little more chasséing which seems indispensable to legislation, the bill passed, and was made effective from Jan. 1st, 1908. Even, after this, Senator Armstrong attempted to amend it to read between 7 a. m. and 6 p. m. but was defeated, and on May 4th, 1907, the Page Child Labor bill became a law by the signature of Governor Hughes, and afterwards Miss Foster received from the Governor, through Senator Page, the pen with which the bill was signed.

C. A. I. L. has always appreciated the debt of gratitude owed to Senator Page for his valiant championship of an unpopular measure—that is, restriction of hours of work to daylight. Now, New York has the best child labor law of any State, and mothers and children rejoice over better conditions secured by the efforts of the Society.



It is interesting to note that C. A. I. L.'s demand for a physician in connection with the State Department of Labor was granted in 1907, and in 1909 the Voss bill, relating to the dangerous occupations of minors passed both houses of the New York State Legislature and was signed by the Governor. The Society did not introduce this bill but worked for its passage.

In the year 1907, after the passage of the C. A. I. L. Page Child Labor bill, Miss Foster, although a communicant of St. Agnes, one of Trinity's chapels, received from the Pope of Rome the Papal Benediction, accompanied by a fine photograph of his Holiness. This was entirely unsought, and a great surprise to the recipient. The following extract from a letter of Bishop Potter, attests his appreciation of the same.

The report of the Papal Benediction indicates a fact of altogether portentous significance; for it shows that our Latin brethren have recognized the great truths for which C. A. I. L. stands, and that Pius X. has both the courage and the wisdom to appreciate their high value.

Surely the full light of a better day is coming when no one will need to plead that children shall not be overworked, nor will there be in later life, citizens stunted in body and soul, as a result of early toil.

## CHAPTER VII.

### HAMMER AND PEN.

IN 1898, through the enterprise of Mr. Rufus W. Weeks, at that time chairman of the Finance Committee, the *Hammer and Pen* was issued monthly as the official organ of the Society. Its name was taken from the badge adopted in the early days of the society, of a hammer and pen crossed, showing the equality of brain and manual labor. The Bishop showed great interest in the paper. Its first editor was Edward Ransford, a professional editor, who, as a labor of love, edited the paper for several years, and, as he was at once a communicant of the Church and a member of Typographical Union No. 6, he brought not only intelligence and ability, but a knowledge of the matters to be considered, which was of great value to the Society. Since his retirement the paper has been edited by the Secretary. Its value has been that it has certainly helped to promote a better feeling between employers and employes and to give to Church members a better idea of what organized labor really stands for, as well as to give to workers outside

the Church an understanding of the efforts made in their behalf. An extract from the Greater New York *Druggist* in 1898 reprinted in *Hammer and Pen* will show the attitude of the association on Sunday rest for the workers:

THE CLERGY WITH US. BISHOPS POTTER AND  
HUNTINGTON WILL HELP US.

We have received the following letter which speaks for itself:

The Church Association for the Advancement of the interests of Labor (C. A. I. L.) believing that one day's rest in seven is necessary for all workers and appreciating the importance of the bill for shorter hours and healthful conditions, under the auspices of the Druggists' League for Shorter Hours, desires most heartily to endorse the same. F. D. Huntington, President, H. C. Potter, Hon. Joseph Reynolds, Vice-President.

An extract from an article by Philip Davis in *The Outlook* of May 8th, 1905, reprinted in *Hammer and Pen* will show the influence of that paper in diffusing information. Mr. Davis in his article states the religious degeneracy fostered by oppressive hours of labor, the indifference to labor matters in the Hebrew Church and finally the appreciation shown by Hebrews for the work of C. A. I. L. The following is an extract from this article:

Why have the working people (Jewish) abandoned the synagogue? I asked Mr. Joseph Barondess,

the most brilliant labor orator among the Jews of this country. "Because," he said, "the Jewish synagogue is the most conservative, retrogressive of all churches in America. Its ceremonies are most exacting; its ritual, its liturgy, are foreign; its language is unknown to the masses, its pulpit is barren, its rabbis are sterile. You cannot find one who is progressive enough to say a good word for the cause of labor. Yes, it is unpleasant, very unpleasant, for a Jew to confess, but it is nevertheless true, the Jewish synagogue is a dead institution as compared with the Christian Church. With men like Bishop Potter, of New York; Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago; or Dean Hodges, of Boston, staunch friends of the laboring people, the Christian Church may well boast of the workingmen's sympathy. Look at the C. A. I. L. within the ranks of the Episcopal Church, representing a whole army of busy promoters of labor's needs. How many generations will yet pass before the Jewish rabbis (we were speaking, of course, of the Russian Jewish rabbis) will be ready to take up so progressive a work.

The following letter relating to the General Convention of 1907 illustrates the interest shown by the Bishop:

August 9, 1907.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

Accept my thanks for the copy of the *Hammer and Pen*, which you have been good enough to send me. I trust you have found your vacation beneficial, and that the suggestion which the *Hammer and Pen* contains, that the members of C. A. I. L. write to the Deputies of the Convention, may be followed out. With all good wishes.

Faithfully yours,

H. C. POTTER.

At this time, when as secretary it was my duty to edit the paper, I was most anxious that the labor proceedings of that Convention should be published in full in *Hammer and Pen*. I could not find this published in the Church papers as soon as I wanted to use it, so I wrote to the Bishop and the following letters will explain how he came to my relief:

October 25, 1907.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

It would only tax you needlessly if I were to arrange for you to come to see me, for I have, as yet, no such information as you seek. But I am writing, by this mail, to obtain from Archdeacon Nelson, who was one of the Secretaries of Bishops at Richmond, a copy of the Report of the Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor. The Resolutions appended to this Report recommended such a unification of the various associations representing the interests of labor in the Church, as you desired, and other action along the line of what I have understood you to wish. So soon as I shall have received this Report from Archdeacon Nelson I will forward it to you. Meantime, I send you a paper which may interest you.

Yours faithfully,

H. C. POTTER.

October 30, 1907.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

With this I am sending you a copy of the Report of the Joint Commission on the relations of Capital and Labor, unanimously adopted in both Houses of the late General Convention. Appended to the Report are the Resolutions which deal especially

with questions which we have discussed, and in which I know you have a keen interest. They prepare the way, so far as we could prepare it in any such report or action, for that action of the associations, confraternities, societies, etc. which represent in the Church a desire to understand the problems which at present confront us, in regard to the questions of capital and labor, and the Christian way of solving them. Pray retain this copy of the Report which is entirely at your service.

Very faithfully yours,

H. C. POTTER.

November 1, 1907.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

Many thanks for both your letters of the 30th ult. I am sincerely glad that the Report of the Joint Commission on the relations of capital and labor commends itself to your approval.

Very faithfully yours,

H. C. POTTER.

*Hammer and Pen*, I believe, had the first report of these proceedings.

The Bishop was always interested in the plans for the betterment of the conditions of the motormen undertaken by C. A. I. L. The following account is from *Hammer and Pen*:

#### VESTIBULING THE CARS.

At a meeting, in December 1899, held in the schoolrooms of St. Stephen's Church, the Reverend Henry St. George Young, a devoted city missionary and a long-time member of C. A. I. L. brought up the case of the drivers, motormen and conductors

of the cars, cable cars and electric trolley cars, who are exposed night and day to the frosts, snow, rain and icy winds of winter while working on the cars. He contended that shelter, in the shape of vestibules should be provided for them, and he and Miss Margaret Schuyler Lawrence, an early member of C. A. I. L., an earnest worker for social reform, and for years Asst. Sec. of the Society, were appointed by the chairman, the Reverend Joseph Reynolds, to look into the matter. This meeting attracted a good deal of attention from the press, and Miss Lawrence almost immediately received a letter from Dr. S. A. Knopf, of New York City, expressing his interest and enclosing an article of his own appealing for the motormen published the year before in the *New York Medical Journal*. This was the beginning of the C. A. I. L. campaign for the street railroad employes, and it went on at intervals in different parts of the country. In March, 1900, Mrs. George Livingston Baker, who has done so much for the motormen on Staten Island, gave an address on "The Wrongs of the Motormen," at a C. A. I. L. meeting in St. Mark's parish house, and a committee was appointed to wait upon Mr. Whitney and see if anything could be done about vestibuling the cars. In May of the same year, at a C. A. I. L. conference held in Trinity parish house, Washington, D. C., Mr. Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, spoke on "The Needs of the Motormen." At a C. A. I. L. meeting in April, 1901, in the chapel of the Church of the Heavenly Rest, New York, report was made of an appeal to the religious papers of this country in an effort to arouse their readers to action in regard to street railroad employes.

Bishop Potter was invited to be present but sent the following letter:

April 9, 1904.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

An official appointment on Tuesday evening, April 12th will deprive me of the privilege of hearing the discussion of the C. A. I. L. appointed for that evening; but I wish to express in this way, if I may, my profound sympathy with the movement for "Vestibules for New York street cars." The front platforms of cars should be reserved exclusively for the motormen, and motormen should be protected, in the discharge of their duties, from exposures which have in them very strong provocation, to intemperance, as well as very grave peril to life. I hope the expression of the Association will be vigorous, as well as temperate.

Very faithfully yours,

H. C. POTTER.

Later a meeting in the interests of legislation for the motormen in the State of New York was held in St. Chrysostom's Parish House. Among the speakers was Mr. Harman Robinson, organizer of the American Federation of Labor. About the same time an appeal was sent out to the religious public through the mediums of church papers of all denominations:

#### APPEAL TO THE RELIGIOUS PUBLIC.

The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (C. A. I. L.), in its efforts for the betterment of the condition of motormen of the United States, asks for the co-operation of individuals and organizations connected with religious movements. This appeal cannot be fruitless, for, while some classes of workers are out of public sight, the motorman is always in evidence. In



inclement weather, when even the warmly clothed passengers within the car are uncomfortable, the motorman on the unprotected platform suffers from buffeting winds, driving rains, snow, and sleet. The motorman has two prominent needs: (1) A continuous day of shorter hours; (2) vestibuled cars, where rendered necessary by climatic conditions. With regard to the first: A motorman is sometimes required to work eleven hours a day; but, as his shifts are only two or three hours in length, he is compelled to be on hand eighteen hours, to make up the required eleven; hence, he has no time to devote to his family, or to rest and recreation, which are not only for his good, but, also, better protection for the public. The objection to the second requirement of vestibuled cars is, that, as the glass in front of the motorman is often obscured in stormy and cold weather, he cannot see clearly and there is, therefore, a greater danger of accident, especially in a crowded city. But, can he see better with rain, sleet, or snow driving directly in his face? It is also stated that where there are accidents, both motormen and passengers are liable to greater injury on account of broken glass, etc. The religious public should consider whether the risk of a minimum of accident is wiser than a certainty of a maximum of disease contracted by the motormen through constant exposure. In sending this appeal to prominent religious journals, C. A. I. L. hopes that individuals and organizations will ask for further information with regard to some practical plan for general co-operation. Address Secretary, C. A. I. L., 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

JOSEPH REYNOLDS, Vice-President.  
HARRIETTE A. KEYSER, Secretary.

C. A. I. L. has seen at last the cars generally vestibuled in all parts of the country and

has aided this in legislation and in other ways. The borough of Manhattan came in late owing to the objections made to vestibules on account of fear of accidents in the crowded streets. The Civic Federation has the honor of bringing about the final vestibuling of the cars in Manhattan.

There was in 1904 an effort made by C. A. I. L., which proved unsuccessful, to hold services in car barns. The following letters will show the interest taken in the matter by the Bishop:

March 21, 1904.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

Yes! I think some arrangement could be made for the services referred to in the resolution enclosed in your letter of the 17th inst., but of course this would depend, first of all, upon the consent or permission of the corporations concerned. Could you give me a list of these? The object is one which I am sure would have the hearty sympathy of our clergy.

Very faithfully yours,  
H. C. POTTER.

April 15, 1904.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

I am sorry to learn that there is no opportunity for Service in the car barns. If anything occurs to me in that connection, I will advise you, but at present I know of no way for providing for the religious wants of those to whom your previous letter referred.

Faithfully yours,  
H. C. POTTER.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### BISHOP POTTER AND THE C. A. I. L. SUPPER.

IN the early days of C. A. I. L. a supper was instituted following immediately after the annual meeting. It was an interesting occasion, because those present were investigating social problems from a practical standpoint. Those privileged to attend can never forget the earnestness, the sallies of wit and flow of humor accompanying the addresses of C. A. I. L. workers and of delegates from trade unions and other societies interested. As time went on and the business of the Society increased (perhaps, also, the talking capacity of its members), the meeting continued sometimes until after midnight, and it came to pass that the supper was "more honored in the breach than the observance." So in 1895 it was separated from the annual meeting, afterwards taking up an entire evening; and the first one of the new order was given at the Cathedral Mission in Stanton Street. The rain began to fall at three in the afternoon continuing through the even-

ing—not a gentle caressing rain, but an unpromising downpour. However, there was no need of the discouragement that was felt, for about two hundred people sat down to an excellent supper, prepared by the Tee-To-Tum Club, which was followed by addresses upon social reform.

The following year the Executive Committee of the C. A. I. L. desired our Bishop to be present, and being secretary at the time it was my duty to interview him on the subject. The prospect did not inspire me with joy. I knew that prominent business men surround themselves with a small army of clerks, stenographers and typewriters flanked by office boys, so that it seems necessary to use dynamite when one wishes to enter the sanctuaries where they flee for refuge. It had not been yet impressed upon me, because at that time I knew very little about them personally, that our bishops are the most accessible of men of affairs, and that Bishop Potter was especially noted for his genial habit of receiving those who sought him. So it came to pass that I was seated in a room of the Bishop's house and he with engagement book in hand was fixing a date when he could be present at the supper. The impression then made upon me was that I was privileged to come near to a great man; and this impression

after years of C. A. I. L. work, when it was necessary often to seek his counsel, never weakened.

He was welcomed at the C. A. I. L. supper in his ecclesiastical capacity and because he gave out freely of the wisdom and wit he had in so large measure. But he also possessed a power of appreciation of the views of others which is most unusual.

Among his utterances at this first supper he ever attended, was the following:

Organized labor is regarded by many intellectual people as a constant menace to society, but the number who so regard it is happily decreasing. I have had the honor to act during the last nine months in four important labor difficulties and if I was asked to say which side was distinguished by the better manners I should unhesitatingly declare in favor of the laboring men. I have listened to both sides, and I thank God for the singular dignity with which the workmen listened to the arguments of their opponents. Later on he told a story to illustrate some point. I was walking in one of the down-town streets the other day and as I passed by two small boys one said to the other, "There goes the Bish., he's no chump." Now I don't know what the word chump means, but I am gratified that the boy was able to identify me.

The next year the Bishop was misreported, being quoted as saying "that machinery and the way the capitalist looks down on those, who labor for him, are the great causes of the gen-

eral ill feeling and uneasiness among the laboring classes;" and several papers without making any attempt to verify the truth of the report lashed themselves into fury, while one in the following extract from an editorial gave way to reproaches more in sorrow than in anger.

Again the Church of which Bishop Potter is a dignitary teaches that this life is only a probationary existence, a period not measurable with the eternity for which it is preparatory and whose happiness or misery is determined here. "For our light affliction" wrote St. Paul to the Corinthians, "which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal." That is the basis of the Christian Faith; without it there is no Christianity; and having it the early Christians and multitudes of their successors submitted to persecutions and tortures with the confidence that their earthly trials would work out for them an "eternal weight of glory" in the life to come. They were trivial incidents and accidents, of importance only as tests of the faith of those who endured them, and in educating them for the reward of everlasting life. Hence the Gospel of Christianity constantly makes poverty and suffering the avenue of approach to the heavenly gates, and riches a bar to admission through them. Does Bishop Potter really believe this? He and the school of philanthropists to which he belongs do not talk as if they believed it. They talk rather as if this life was all, and the end of it the end of all for mortal man. What matters it how men suffer and are denied here, so long as they win the re-

ward of the life to come? Nor does it require religious faith to recognize the profound philosophic truth in this view of life. This life exists, and forever has existed with reference to the life succeeding it. One man sows, another man reaps. One generation makes way for another, struggling to prepare for its coming; and thus the ages roll on and the world goes on; self-sacrifice, self-effacement always. That is the thought to which the Church should lift men, instead of fanning their unreasoning and dangerous discontent with inevitable human conditions, improvable, so far as they are improvable at all, only by ceaseless struggle and hardship from generation to generation. "O ye of little faith."

Another paper quoted this from the Bishop's address:

The time is not far distant when the Church and its servants will be the intermediary between employers and employes. Present conditions cannot last. The tension between the capitalists and their workers is great, and true humane principles do not exist. Strikes, while they are the only means of settling differences, or calling public attention to the grievances of workmen, are not always wise. Diplomacy should be the principal aim of the leaders of labor, and then, if all efforts at honorable and peaceful discussion fail, a strike is necessary.

In the thick of the opposition appeared the following editorial from the Brooklyn Eagle:

#### A GREAT BISHOP.

Bishop Potter's address at the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor in

New York, on Monday night, is worthy of the careful study of all people interested in the social forces at work in the metropolis. The Bishop said, among other things: "This Association is looked upon as a dangerous and revolutionary one, because it tends to unite the Church with the workingman in his great struggle. Say what they will against it, but I for one announce that from today on the Church of God is with the laborer." These two sentences mean much. Bishop Potter's views are well known and his influence is undoubted. He is at the head of an organization that is commonly supposed to be made up of the wealthiest people. The Episcopal Church is supposed to be the Church of "Society." In recent years in New York, under the direction of Bishop Potter, it has turned its attention to people who are without Church influences, and it has done much to prove to these people that the organization is interested in their welfare. As a result, it has grown in membership rapidly. We believe that the figures will show that its growth has been greater in proportion to its size than that of any other Church in the city.

Whatever may be said of other Churches, this Church certainly appreciates its opportunity. The Bishop himself understands his responsibility. In the heat of the summer a year or two ago he went into the slums and took up his residence in one of the missions to conduct its work while the missionary in charge went away on a vacation. There is no work too humble for him to do. It is the work among the people which he seems to think is of the greatest importance. He has won the confidence of the men whom he is striving to help, because he has proved to them that he believes that their wishes and their aspirations are worthy of respect, and because he treats them as men and not as parts of a machine. Yes, Bishop Potter's speech and his methods of work are worthy of study.



The Bishop explained his position in the following interview given to a reporter of a New York paper:

When shown some comments upon his speech at a C. A. I. L. supper, Bishop Potter said: "Every newspaper which discusses the public utterances of a speaker without first verifying them is acting dishonestly and unscrupulously. The comments attributed to me are based wholly upon fictitious statements. I had nothing whatever to say of capital in any connection, or of the contempt of capital for labor. That is pure rubbish. Nor had I anything to say of the disadvantages, on the whole, of machinery to modern civilization.

I pointed out, however, that as most good things have their evil sides, one of these evils, in the case of machinery, was that it sometimes made a machine of the laborer. This I illustrated. The other point made was that altered conditions of modern society separated workingmen and their employers. I pointed out the office of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor as a mediator and conciliator, showing that strikes were often the result of the workingman's sense of his isolation from the sympathy of his fellow-men, and especially from the sympathy of those better placed in life than himself. These should strive to understand him, to be just to him and to encourage in him a willingness to submit his claims to peaceful arbitration.

At this supper, a letter was read from John Newton Bogart, organizer of New York State Branch Federation of Labor, and also a member of C. A. I. L., extracts from which are given:

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These annual C. A. I. L. suppers are having an increasing influence upon readers and thinkers, both inside and without the Church. Bishop Potter's generous expressions at last year's gathering were an inspiration to thousands of almost despairing toilers throughout this land, who were reached through the medium of the Press. The Bishop's address on that occasion has been copied by nearly every Labor paper in the United States—indeed, it is used as "standing matter" by some of them—and I am sure that great encouragement has been thus given to hundreds of organizers and local leaders.

In noting the election of a C. A. I. L. delegate (Rev. Joseph Reynolds) to the New York State Branch American Federation of Labor Convention, Mr. Bogart wrote:

The message was well received and the hope was generally expressed that this friendly spirit of co-operation and reciprocal interest may be cultivated to the mutual advantage of the two organizations, and extended to other bodies of workers for the common weal.

The genuine manifestation of the Church's interest in the advancement of labor is certain to attract a return measure of interest from Labor in the Church and its work of moralization. Therefore, I sincerely hope and trust that the intercourse between the C. A. I. L. and the Federation may be steadily developed.

Fraternally,

JOHN N. BOGART,  
State Organizer.

The Central Labor Union of New York tendered a vote of thanks to the Bishop for his

address at the supper and John Newton Bogart expressed thanks as a "representative of the Working People:"

Albany, May 7th, 1897.

MY DEAR BISHOP POTTER:

As a representative of the working people whose hearts you have cheered with your address to C. A. I. L., Monday night, I feel called upon to thank you, and to assure you that, if you could hear their expressions of sincere gratitude to the mighty voice raised in their behalf, this sense of appreciation on the part of the workers would more than counter-balance the unfriendly criticism which doubtless reach you. This rousing speech will stir the thought of a nation and will send the American Labor movement along with an impetus hitherto unknown.

May Almighty God bless and strengthen you, and prolong your precious life for the advancement of His kingdom on earth as it is in heaven!

Gratefully and faithfully,

Yours in Christian Brotherhood,

JOHN NEWTON BOGART.

Nothing will show more clearly the truths illuminated with the delightful humor which rejoiced the guests at the C. A. I. L. suppers than the following extract from one of the Bishop's speeches on such an occasion:

There is in our day a teaching, he said, which treats all questions dependent upon, or having any relation to the divine brotherhood of man as too fine for ordinary human use, and holds that we should fight for ourselves and ourselves alone, and

the devil take the hindmost. I am glad this society rests upon the teaching of a divine brotherhood. Unless we come to that, we are in danger of lapsing into barbaric extravagances of speech and manner which have no relation to our civilization. We are in such haste in this age that we are in danger of becoming discourteous. A few days ago I was going up on a West Shore train. Two young women were standing at the step of the car, and it was at the last minute. "Is this train stopping at Orangeburg?" asked one. "Yes, get in, get in," I replied rather impatiently. One of the young women asked me if I was the conductor and I told her I would at least conduct her to her seat. "Well," she remarked, "if you are, you are the sassiest conductor I ever met."

At the supper of 1898, the speakers were Mr. Hugh Lusk, of the Parliament of New Zealand; Miss Minnie Rosen, a young worker in an East Side sweat shop; the Rev. Leighton Williams, pastor of the Unity Baptist Church and Mr. Patrick Kearney, of the Catholic Workingmen's Club.

Bishop Potter was very much impressed by the remarks of Miss Minnie Rosen, who made a speech appealing at once to the reason and emotional sense of her audience. She plunged at once into the subject of the wrongs of the sweating system and said that, if the balance of workers in New York were fully aware of its evils, they would not tolerate that system for a moment. She described conditions in which workers in tenement houses carried on their trade stating their days were long, while their lives were short. For the latter reason, also, the suffering was so great, they worked continuously from

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5 a. m. to 10 p. m., if not longer. She did not so much blame the contractors as the manufacturers who dealt in sweat shop goods. She prayed for shorter hours, which would not only preserve them physically, but also would afford others a chance to obtain employment. They could not ask for employment through the papers, as their case forbade publication in that way. To beg as proud East Side workers, among whose number she was proud to recognize herself, they were ashamed.

In Bishop Potter's address he noted the representative character of the speakers:

I have sat alongside my proud sister of the East Side—a Hebrew—it must not be forgotten that I have been an East-Sider in my time—I have stood close to a Baptist brother and I have on my right another brother belonging to one of the most ancient and the most famous communions in Christendom. I look upon this as a phenomenal occasion in every way.

I am glad to think that I am a fellow speaker with a Baptist, a Hebrew, and a Roman Catholic—one whose acumen led him to put his finger just on the right spot. I have found that, on an occasion like this, I have to be very careful, to set a watch upon my lips and a guard upon my speech, lest the Press get hold of the wrong end of my meaning and again make me say what I neither meant nor said. Going back to what has been spoken as to the cruelties and barbarities of the sweating and kindred systems, this is now the place for inviting and invoking the influence of the law, so as to make it impossible for such wrongs to continue—wronges which have disgraced civilization to as great an extent as those practised by a stronger upon a weaker nation. We must endeavor to reach by Religion whatever is reachable in human nature;

no one is irredeemably vile. Like the thief on the cross, there is something in humanity, however debased, which can be touched and redeemed, whether it is in the man at the top, the slave of indolence and luxury and selfishness, a hopeless incubus and one as dangerous to society as the man at the lower end, sodden with drink and steeped in ruffianism. C. A. I. L., has established a bond, joining brother to brother, making each recognize the other as a fellow man, and in this way has awakened in each a sense of his responsibility to God for his stewardship.

At the supper of 1901 the Bishop said:

One of my clergy who was speaking to me about the C. A. I. L. considered the name *Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor* presumptuous. It assumed too much for a voluntary society which was subject to no canonical authority. It amounted simply to this—that a lot of people got themselves together, and, without any authority from the Church, dubbed theirs a *Church association*! Mr. Markham has answered the objection in his speech. The Church represents (1) order, which we believe to be divine and rejoice in so believing; (2) an external mechanism which is necessary for both life and spirit; and (3) which is the most important of all, that living spirit which should be her life and should dwell in every creature within her walls. Here, then, because C. A. I. L. represents not an order of the Church, but a Religion, a large Religion, which binds man to God through the Manhood of Jesus Christ, it is identified with the relation of the Gospel and the Church to the work of Christ. The aim of C. A. I. L. is to bring into close relation the office and the work of Christ, to deal with social problems in the light of the Incarnation. But,

though C. A. I. L. has done much, it has only just begun this work. It has influenced the minds of thoughtful persons throughout Christendom as well as the United States, and is exercising a wholesome influence over the minds of thinking men and women. It is doing the work of Christ. Such an organization, with its lofty aims and purposes, is needed in an age like this, and its work is more than recognized in this country; it is burning in the hearts of multitudes. We are all children of a common Father and what concerns Religion is its ordinary expression in every-day facts, not in ideals set by a master. As a striking instance of Religion in common life and to exemplify the "rare integrity," which exists among the tenement house dwellers on the East Side, I want to tell a story of a little girl who attended the sewing school at the Pro-Cathedral in Stanton Street, Manhattan. I was called upon to give the children their prizes. The girls were divided into three groups, as follows: (1) Those who had never been late; (2) Those who had been very seldom late; and (3) those who had been fairly regular. I handed one of the first prizes to a little girl, who, as I observed, went thoughtfully to her chair, and, after sitting a moment, suddenly arose, walked over to her teacher, whispered something in her ear, and handed back the medal. I asked the meaning of the child's action, and was informed that she had confessed to the teacher, that, although her record was clear, she had really been late once, and was, therefore, not entitled to the award. I was deeply impressed by that exhibition of integrity in the young girl, whose environment had been the tenement home. I venture to say that such virtue is rare in any section of this city. There was nothing finer in the whole world than that act of absolute integrity. It fulfilled the prophecy, "All thy children shall be taught of God!" Assuredly some-

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thing had been taught that girl, and I would rather take my chances with her than with many a high-born or wealthy worlding, to whom such a sense of right is unknown.

In 1902 the Bishop was compelled to be absent and sent the following letter:

Diocesan House, Lafayette Place,  
New York, April 30, 1909.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

It is, as you must very well know, a great grief to me that I cannot be with my friends of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor on Tuesday evening next. There is no occasion, in all my year's round, which brings to me more unalloyed refreshment and delight; and I am thankful, therefore, that you have secured so able a body of speakers for the occasion, though I am to be denied the privilege of hearing them. My friend, Mr. Ralph M. Easley, representing the Civic Federation, ought to have, with your other guests, a rousing reception, for he has illustrated in all the work which we have been doing there a singular wisdom, patience, and a fine fraternal spirit.

The C. A. I. L. stands for great things, and may well thank God tonight that it has done a real and important work. The whole outlook for the mutual understanding of Labor and those who are dependent upon it, employ it, or are enriched by it, looks to me, at present, more hopeful than at any time within my recollection, and this chiefly because I do not think there has ever been a day when there have been more honest efforts on either side of the lines which divide the great classes to understand each other. Especially have employers and those whom they represented learned to respect men in



the Labor ranks, whose candor, temperate speech, clear and direct statement, and enduring sense of equity, have been illustrated on many fields and in many ways. You will not have Mr. John Mitchell with you, but I wish you might drink his health as a rare illustration of what I mean.

Once more, God bless and prosper you all, and bind you together in the common brotherhood of the common Master!

Affectionately yours,

HENRY C. POTTER.

Mr. Ralph Easley to whom Bishop Potter refers in the above letter was not present, sending as representative of the Civic Federation, Professor John H. Commings, who said:

The spirit of brotherhood, which proceeded first from C. A. I. L., made the Civic Federation possible. It might be that the spirit of opposition between capital and labor brought forth that Federation. Since trade unions had come into such prominence and power, they should be imbued with the spirit of brotherhood. Capitalists, also, should be willing to make concessions and to come together to confer because of the pressure of public opinion, and, also, because the capitalist is not so easily injured as the wage-earner. Each is organized, and it is well that such is the case, since where there is no organization there can be no attempt at conciliation, because those who are interested can speak only through representatives. The Civic Federation, therefore, aims at bringing the two together.

Bishop Potter was interested in the efforts of all organizations working for social better-

ment, yet, after all, his greatest interest was in C. A. I. L. and his efforts to be present at the annual supper will be shown by the letter which follows:

113 West 40th Street, New York City.

April 4th, 1903.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

Accept my thanks for your note of the 3d inst.

I ought, perhaps, to have said that, on the evening of May 7th, I have an earlier appointment (for Confirmation at the Church of the Holy Cross). Indeed, on every one of the evenings named in your previous note I have Confirmation appointments, and could do no better for you on any other evening. I mention the fact, now, that I may be understood that I can only come in after you are under way; and that your chairman may arrange matters so that I may come in *after* others.

Sincerely yours,

H. C. POTTER.

At the last annual gathering (May, 1909) the supper, for reasons of convenience, gave place to a dinner. It was a successful occasion, because it was the expression of the fellowship which appealed so intensely to the Bishop. Yet, many present felt the absence of one who had done so much in the midst of pressing engagements to make the annual feast a season of hope and inspiration.

## CHAPTER IX.

### ACTORS' CHURCH ALLIANCE.

THE organization of the Actors' Church Alliance, in which Bishop Potter took so much interest was due to C. A. I. L. The President of the Actors' Society, Mr. F. F. Mackay, published through the Press a desire that the Church should help in securing a day of rest for the members of the dramatic profession. I was Secretary of the General Society at that time and noted this in the *New York Sun*. I knew our Executive Committee would respond to this appeal, because our work has always been in the direction of Sunday rest. Two meetings were called—one under the auspices of St. Michael's Chapter, addressed by members of the dramatic profession, and another under the auspices of the General Society held at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in February, 1899, with Mr. Mackay as the principal speaker. He had difficulty reaching there from Long Island as there was a blizzard and the traveling was very bad. The street-cars were blocked and few were present.

Mr. Mackay said that his own association was composed of nine hundred members and that one of its objects was to redress wrongs in the theatrical profession. Mr. Mackay traced the history of the drama from ancient times, showing the relations it had borne to the Church and the State. He said that all decadence in dramatic art might be traced to the love of money, which was, and is the root of all evil. With the civil war began a system of trade upon the people that had made this a nation of money-grubbers. When that war began, it was feared the drama must go to the wall. It was thought in the exigencies of war the theatres would be closed. On the contrary, theatrical performances were stimulated by the presence of men in recruiting stations. Speaking of the love of money and the efforts of managers to make all they could at any cost, he said; "An actor is not a very good business man and cannot always protect himself." Contrasting useful arts with the drama, he said that, while useful arts destroyed the worker as he worked, dramatic art strengthened an actor. He was physically stronger after fifty years of service, while the worker in useful arts was failing in strength at the same age. He claimed that the Church should care for the theatre, because it was a means of education. He then spoke of the degeneracy of New York in tolerating continuous performances, and, passing on to the subject of Sunday performances, referred to Western cities, among them Cincinnati and St. Louis, where there were performances every Sunday afternoon and evening. He insisted that men could not be morally good until they were physically comfortable, and, if actors are required to play on Sunday, they could not be comfortable. "Are your churches over-full on Sundays (he asked) and your Sunday schools too crowded? When the time arrives that there is a large surplus of people that the churches cannot

handle, we may need to open the theatres—not before.” Speaking of the Harburger bill which provided for open theatres on Sunday, Mr. Mackay said he did not believe the people of New York would permit its passage, and if they should, he did not think the Governor would sign it.

The subject was discussed by the Rev. Walter E. Bentley, the Rev. Dr. Hughes, and the Rev. F. J. C. Moran, after which a resolution was unanimously passed opposing the opening of theatres on Sunday as called for in the Harburger bill.

A resolution was also passed, on motion of Mr. Moran, that a committee be appointed to consider steps to bring about a better mutual understanding between the Church and theatrical profession.

The mover of the motion was appointed as chairman, but said he thought Mr. Bentley, who had been an actor and was now a clergyman, should be the chairman, and the committee finally consisted of the Rev. Walter E. Bentley, chairman—the other members being the Rev. Thomas P. Hughes, the Rev. Francis J. Clay Moran, Miss Harriette A. Keyser and Miss Margaret Schuyler Lawrence. The committee for the Stage consisted of F. F. Mackay, Verner Clarges, George J. D. McIntyre, Mrs. W. G. Jones and Miss Maida Craigen.

The result of the meetings of this joint committee was the organization of the Actors' Church Alliance at a meeting held June 19th, 1899, Bishop Potter presiding. The Bishop was elected President of the Alliance, and Mr. Bentley Secretary, in which position he worked with energy.

It will be seen that the organization of the society was due to the idea of Sunday rest. The

Alliance does not rest alone on that basis, although that is the most important of its work. It has chaplains of all denominations all over the country contributing to a better understanding between the Church and the Stage.

A law committee of the National Council of the Alliance of which the Reverend Francis J. C. Moran has for years been chairman, has worked in the interest of Sunday rest for members of the dramatic profession. Through the untiring efforts of Mr. Moran, intensely appreciated by Bishop Potter, legal proceedings have been instituted and much has been accomplished. In New York the decision of Justice O'Gorman in 1908 was of great value:—

In the action brought by the Police Commissioner, under Section 1,476 of the New York charter to revoke Mr. Hammerstein's license of the Victoria Theatre, Justice O'Gorman gave a decision granting the prayer of the petitioners that the license be revoked. In a sweeping opinion he denounced as clear violation of law every possible form of such entertainment, under whatever title, from grand opera to negro minstrelsy, from "sacred concert" to jig dancing.

He said the law is well established in the State of New York that the Christian Sabbath is one of the civil institutions of the State, and that, for the purpose of protecting the moral and physical well-being of the people and preserving the peace, quiet and good order of society, the legislature has authority to regulate its observance and prevent its desecration by appropriate legislation.

Bishop Potter expresses an opinion on the subject in the following letter:

November 7, 1907.

MY DEAR MR. MORAN:

Accept my thanks for your letter of the 6th inst., which I have read with much interest.

The other evening I had some conversation with the Honorable Seth Low in regard to the subject to which it refers, and, if I understand him aright, he concurred in thinking that the time had come when there might wisely be some informal and unreserved consultation on the part of those representing the stage, the stage carpenter, and the like, and the public, and the law.

It is idle to ignore the fact that we are confronted with the situation with which the law is altogether inconsistent. As I hardly need say to you, I am in hearty sympathy with those of the dramatic profession who desire to preserve Sunday as a day of rest; but, if you read the very interesting and varied group of opinions furnished in *The New York Times* of a few Sundays ago, you must have seen that there are other aspects to the Sunday question, in connection with Sunday amusements, than theirs. In other words, there are large numbers so employed that no half-holiday on Saturday is possible for them, and Sunday, if they are to have any recreation, must include some such recreation as well as provision for worship. When, besides, you remember the vast number of people, in New York City and elsewhere, who are not Christians at all, even nominally, you can realize, I think, that the fight to observe Sunday in accordance with ancestral conditions is destined, inevitably, to be a losing fight.

Under these circumstances, would it not be well to ask the Governor of the State to appoint a Com-

mission to whom the whole question of Sunday laws might be referred, with the idea that they should recommend such legislation as might be necessary to protect the Rest Day, whether of actors or others; and to secure what our American Sunday already gives us.

The whole question is a very large and intricate one; and it is quite idle to suppose that we can dispose of it by coercing a particular judge to give a particular decision, because it happens to be inconsistent with the terms of a present law.

Very faithfully yours,  
HENRY C. POTTER.

Bishop Potter's letter resulted in the calling of a Conference of professional and Church people by the Actors' Church Alliance, at which a unanimous resolution was passed asking the President, Bishop Potter, to request Governor Hughes to appoint a commission to consider the whole question of Sunday recreation for the people, with which suggestion the Governor in his reply expressed sympathy and an effort was made in the legislature of the State in 1908-9 to get a representative from both houses to constitute a commission for this purpose; but, unfortunately, the bill failed.

The effort of the Actors' Church Alliance to close theatres on Sunday has had its effect both east and west and has been successful in some places.

The one point insisted upon by the Alliance has always been to save the professional people



from the heavy grind of seven days in the week, often fourteen appearances in that time. The hardships extend to all workers connected with the stage. In an examination before a legislative committee in Albany legislative session of 1908-9, one of the Theatrical Electrical Engineers stated that from pressure of work and journeying from place to place he had not changed his clothes in two entire weeks.

C. A. I. L. has always worked with the Actors' Church Alliance in the endeavor to obtain Sunday rest for the members of the dramatic profession, and as recently Bishop Potter was President of both societies, there was, naturally an added interest in this work.

## CHAPTER X.

### BISHOP POTTER AND THE CIVIC FEDERATION.

IN the year 1900 was organized the National Civic Federation modeled after the Civic Federation of Chicago but with an extended scope of operation. The object of this organization was:

To provide for study and discussion of questions of national import, affecting either the foreign or domestic policy of the United States, to aid in the crystallization of the most enlightened public sentiment of the country in respect thereto, and, when desirable, to promote necessary legislation in accordance therewith.

This association found favor with Bishop Potter, and he consented to be a member of that part of the Executive Committee which represented the public. As capital and the labor unions were represented, the association promoted contact between the three parties who are involved in all labor difficulties. It will be noted that, in the Committee of Conciliation and Mediation established by C. A. I. L. in 1893, this division was suggested. Bishop Potter saw

the injustice of capital and labor alone being represented, and in his utterances urged the claims of the public.

The Civic Federation through its Industrial Department has done a great work in adjusting labor difficulties. Credit is given to Bishop Potter for help rendered in the following quotation from the National Civic Federation Review of September, 1908:

Bishop Potter was an active participant in the affairs of the Civic Federation from its inception as a national organization. He frequently addressed its meetings and expressed his sympathy with its purposes and aims. He testified to his appreciation by active service in the Conciliation Committee, and rendered notable service in the adjustment of the great strikes in the steel industry in 1901 and in the anthracite coal regions in 1903.

Cooperstown, N. Y.  
August 23, 1902.

MY DEAR MR. EASLEY:

With this I return your enclosure of the 21st inst., and am sorry its writer cannot see that the situation to which he refers, cannot be healed by the interposition to which he would appeal. Mr. Morgan cannot force the hand of the coal operators, nor I think of Mr. Perkins.

Everything that comes to me, and much comes from many sources, satisfies me that interposition of this point, by members of the Civic Federation, whether one, two, or a dozen, would be resented as an impertinence, and would be in vain.

Sincerely yours,  
H. C. POTTER.

Cooperstown, N. Y.  
August 25, 1902.

MY DEAR MR. EASLEY:

My impression is that Mr. Underwood's suggestion as to the two Governors is excellent. The Civic Federation or any member or members of it, will not furnish *personæ gratae* to either side concerned in the present strike, and the reckless utterances of the coal operators—or some of them—have made it impossible for members of the Federation further to concern themselves with the Strike; but a way out might be suggested by a Commission appointed by the Governors of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania,—and I hope they will act.

Sincerely yours,  
H. C. POTTER.

Cooperstown, N. Y.  
August 27, 1902 (Wednesday).

MY DEAR MR. EASLEY:

Your telegram of this morning, (no, I see it is dated yesterday, the 26th, but it only reached me at nine a. m. today) implies that two views have been discussed in the New York evening papers. These do not reach this place, and if you refer to Mr. Morgan and Mr. Perkins, I can only say that I am disposed to think that you credit them with too much power.

The operators believe that they have the miners "where they are short," and that they can squeeze them into surrender. Perhaps they can; but they will blunder, stupidly, if they do so. No one from the capitalist class can successfully interpose, now. But there is a great opportunity for the mine owners and railroad people to make a new departure. They think they see victory in sight—pos-

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sibly they do, but, before they are through, they will find that they have had to pay dear for it!

Yours sincerely,

H. C. POTTER.

Cooperstown, N. Y.

August 30, 1902.

MY DEAR MR. EASLEY:

With this I am returning your enclosures, and beg you to accept my thanks for the opportunity of seeing them. The letters to Mr. Perkins and Mr. Gompers are admirable. Tom Platt's advice, "*Don't talk*" would be pertinent to Baer, *et id omne genus*, just now!

And this not because the mine-workers and labor union men have made no blunders. They have, and the sooner they can grasp the fact that *force* is an idle and obnoxious weapon against non-union labor the better,—but meantime, capital must deal with them as I do with my saddle-horse when he sees an automobile—he wants a *light hand*—not spurs, and the butt of my whip between his ears;—and until capital can learn that lesson it will continue to suffer as it is doing now. "Cannot I do as I wish with my own?" Cries capital, "Ah, well—but what *is your own?*"

Yours ever,

H. C. POTTER.

In the letter which follows the Bishop again pays his respects to Mr. Baer:

113 West 40th Street, New York.

February 20, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. EASLEY:

Yes, I can attend a meeting of the New York Council of the Civic Federation on Thursday next, February 26th, at four o'clock at, I presume, No. 281 Fourth Avenue?

I hope Mr. Oscar S. Straus will be made perma-

nent chairman. Nothing could have been better than his dignified and conclusive answer to Baer's vapid criticisms of the Civic Federation.

Very truly yours,

H. C. POTTER.

The next letter relates to "Trusts" and touches upon the limited understanding of the public in regard to such matters. The conferences of the Civic Federation on this subject have been of great use in clarifying the turbid waters of public intelligence. The full understanding of trusts, however, will doubtless be arrived at in the full light of the next industrial system, whatever that may be.

Cooperstown, New York.

August 21, 1907.

MY DEAR MR. EASLEY:

Your letter of the 12th inst., arrived during my absence and contained no enclosure; though it alludes to a clipping which was to accompany it.

I am profoundly thankful to hear of the proposed conference for the purpose of considering the relations of trusts to the public welfare and interest. Unfortunately, my engagements are such that I am not sanguine as to being able to attend the conference; but there is no subject concerning which a wider ignorance, or more curious misapprehension, exists in the public mind; and it is greatly to be desired that, in bringing the whole subject of the administration of corporations into the light, we may be assisted by the intelligence of the land.

Believe me, my dear Mr. Easley,

Very truly yours,

HENRY C. POTTER.

The next letter relates to a subject dear to the heart of the Bishop, namely, the Church and labor matters. He was always ready to aid any good work no matter what stamp it might bear, but, after all, it was the Church which he loved and served for so many years, that enlisted his deepest interest.

412 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

October 27, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. EASLEY:

I am not quite clear as to what your note of the 24th inst. refers.

The House of Bishops adopted the Report of a Joint Commission on the "Relations of Capital and Labor," which I enclose with this.

There was also read at the close of our General Convention, a Pastoral Letter, written by me, which contained an extended discussion of the Labor Question. I have not this at hand, but will endeavor to send it to you when it reaches me.

On Thursday morning, November 3d, between 10 and 12, I hope to be in my office at 113 West 40th Street, New York City, and at your service.

Very truly yours,

H. C. POTTER.

The Welfare Department of the Civic Federation must have been of great interest to the Bishop. When C. A. I. L. was founded in 1887, there was a general neglect of the comfort of employes. Since time immemorial some employers have recognized the fact that at least as much consideration should be shown to

human beings as to machinery and cattle—and such employers have benefited thereby quite as much as the employes. But in 1887 what is called “welfare” was not the fashion. In an organizing trip to the West so late as 1900 I found many employers for the first time looking after matters of comfort. Soap was provided in one instance as a novelty—prisms were inserted to let in light in dark places, rest rooms and lunch rooms were established.

The Civic Federation has looked after welfare work in a very large way, and it is fast becoming the fashion to see that employes do their work with every needed comfort, and that, in addition, education and recreation are counted as important adjuncts to successful labor. In the first place organized labor, struggling for economic justice, ignored or looked with scant favor upon what was feared would militate against a better wage. From an article in the National Civic Federation Review, by Mr. J. W. Sullivan of the Typographical Union and a member of the Federation’s Public Ownership Committee, it is good to learn of the present attitude of Trade Unions toward welfare work:

The trade unionists are observing sympathetically the National Civil Federation’s Welfare Department, and its work is upheld by those who understand it. They see that it is discriminatingly promoting certain specific betterments for the



working classes, thereby supplementing trade union endeavors and carrying out the good intentions of the enlightened and fairminded employers who are engaged in the work. It recognizes that the trade unions are chiefly engaged with wages and hours, and the labor laws, and the union regulations associated with wage scales, or those laws; that they are busy pushing organizations or that they hesitate to bring up with employers new points that may cause friction. Hence, they welcome the pacific intervention of a third party. There is a set of betterments for labor in which the employer, seeking to do his full duty by his employes, may engage his energies. I have traveled much over the world in the interests of labor, having been sent out by trade unionists or others, and I am impressed with the general need of well considered forms of welfare work. These betterments, for one thing, result in doing away with shop nuisances, and those inconveniences and burdens of life which factory hands cannot very well take hold of themselves, but through attention to which the employer may make his employe comparatively happy.

## CHAPTER XI.

### BISHOP POTTER IN STANTON STREET.

BISHOP POTTER was naturally interested in the work of the Pro-Cathedral in Stanton Street. One summer he spent a month there, taking the place of the clergyman in charge and sending him off on a vacation. He visited the people in the neighborhood as well as took charge of the Services. He was lauded in the Press for this action, and it was felt to be a sacrifice. It is true that it was a kindly act to take the place of the clergyman, but certainly Bishop Pottter did not look upon himself in the light of a martyr. He delighted in experience, and he was intensely interested in human beings. The greatest work that he did for the neighborhood was when that valiant priest of the Church (now the Bishop of Eastern Oregon), the Reverend Robert Paddock, arose in his might and attacked vice, so sternly intrenched, that he was insulted by the police. Bishop Potter upon learning of this, was moved to righteous indignation and brought the matter before the Convention of the Diocese of New York, and the follow-

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ing resolution was offered by the Reverend William R. Huntington, D. D., of Grace Church:

RESOLVED, That the Bishop of the Diocese as head of the Cathedral body be requested to investigate the indignities alleged to have been offered to the clergy of the Pro-Cathedral by the police authorities of the district in which the said Pro-Cathedral is situate, and if just cause be found to make formal protest in the name of the Church to the Mayor of New York.

BISHOP POTTER'S PROTEST TO MAYOR VAN WYCK.

TO THE CLERGY AND LAY DEPUTIES OF THE CONVENTION OF THE DIOCESE OF NEW YORK.

DEAR BRETHREN:

With this I beg to communicate to you the Protest presented by me, in accordance with your action of September 30th, to the Mayor of New York.

Affectionately yours,

HENRY C. POTTER,

Bishop of New York.

Diocesan House, Lafayette Place,

New York, November 15, 1900.

THE HON. ROBERT A. VAN WYCK, MAYOR OF  
THE CITY OF NEW YORK:

SIR:

At No. 130 Stanton Street, in this city, there is a work, for the people resident in that neighborhood, of a missionary, educational and social character, for which, for some years, I have been directly and

personally responsible. Its influence for good order and good morals, to describe it in no other way, has been considerable; and has been recognized, I think I may venture to say, by those who know it, as of real and enduring value. It is not only a centre for the ministrations of religion, but also, for training in various arts and handicrafts, for a free library, gymnasium, cooking, sewing, and other schools, etc., etc.; and, as such, for those whose lives are often hard and narrow and whose pleasures and privileges are few, it has been recognized as an important factor in promoting the virtue and good order of the communities to which it ministers.

In view of these facts, it would seem that it has a valid claim upon the sympathy, co-operation, and at least courteous consideration of those who officially represent our city government, and the guardianship of decency and good morals. I urge here no other claim for it, and I beg to say that I am not now addressing you, because there has been in that which I now desire to bring to your notice, a vulgar and brutal absence of those in connection with one who happens to have been my own representative. The personal element, so far as he is, or I am concerned, is of the very smallest consequence.

But the thing that is of consequence, sir, is that when a minister of religion, and a resident in a particular neighborhood, whose calling, character, experience and truthfulness are all alike widely and abundantly recognized, goes to the headquarters of the police in his district to appeal to them for the protection of the young, the innocent and the defenceless against the leprous harpies who are hired as runners and touters for the lowest and most infamous dens of vice, he is met not only with contempt and derision, but with the coarsest insult and obloquy.

You will say that these are strong words. I hold

myself ready at any time to submit the facts that substantiate them. The statement now in my possession of two clergymen of the highest character contains the testimony of two men, given without exaggeration, with the most pains-taking reserve, and with absolute truthfulness. In substance it is briefly this: That when one of them complained to a police captain of a condition of things in his immediate neighborhood, whose pre-eminent infamy is a matter of common notoriety, a condition of things easily verified by any intelligent citizen who passes through the streets in which it exists, he was told that he lied; and that when, disheartened by such an experience, he carried his complaint to a higher authority in the police force he was met with insolent derision.

I affirm that such virtual safeguarding of vice in the city of New York is a burning shame to any decent and civilized community, and an intolerable outrage upon those whom it especially and pre-eminently concerns. I am not, I beg to say, unmindful of the fact that the existence of vice in a great city, is, practically, an inevitable condition of the life of such a community. I am not demanding that vice shall be "stamped out" by the police or any other civil authority. That is a task which would demand for its achievement a race of angels and not of men. But I approach you, sir, to protest with all my power against a condition of things in which vice is not only tolerated, but shielded and encouraged by those whose sworn duty it is to repress and discourage it, and, in the name of unsullied youth and innocence, of young girls and their mothers who, though living under conditions often of privation and the hard struggle for a livelihood, have in them every instinct of virtue and purity that are the ornaments of any so-called gentlewoman in the land. I know those of whom I speak; their homes, their lives, their toil, and their

aspirations. Their sensibility to insult or outrage is as keen as theirs who are in your household or mine; and, before God and in the face of the citizens of New York, I protest, as my people have charged me to do, against the habitual insult, the persistent menace, the unutterably defiling contacts, to which, day by day, because of the base complicity of the police of New York with the lowest forms of vice and crime, they are subjected. And, in the name of these little ones, these weak and defenceless ones, Christian and Hebrew alike, of many races and tongues, but of homes in which God is feared, and His Law revered, and virtue and decency honored and exemplified, I call upon you, sir, to save these people who are in a very real way committed to your charge, from a living hell, leprous, deadly, damning, to which the criminal supineness of the constituted authorities, set for the defence of decency and good order, threatens to doom them.

I have no methods to suggest, no individuals to single out for especial rebuke and chastisement. These are for you to determine and to deal with. The situation which confronts us in this metropolis of America, is one of common and open notoriety, and of such a nature as may well make us a byword and hissing among the nations of the world. For nowhere else on earth, I verily believe, certainly not in any civilized or Christian community, does there exist such a situation as defiles and dishonors New York today. Vice exists in many cities; but there is at least some persistent repression of its external manifestations, and the agents of the law are not, as here, widely believed to be battenning upon the fruits of its most loathsome and unnamable forms.

I come to you, sir, with this protest in accordance with the instructions lately laid upon me by the convention of the Episcopal Church of the diocese of New York. The events which provoked its action

occurred some months ago. There has been no haste on my part or on theirs in behalf of whom I speak in reaching conclusions as to the situation to which I refer. Months have passed since the incidents occurred to which I have alluded in this communication. But, in all these months, the condition of things in whole neighborhoods has not improved, but rather grown worse. Vice not only flaunts in the most open and ribald forms, but hardworking fathers and mothers find it harder than ever, today, to defend their households from a rapacious licentiousness which stops at no outrage and spares no tenderest victim. Such a state of things cries to God for vengeance and calls no less loudly to you and me for redress.

This, sir, is my case. I leave it confidently in your hands. Confidently, I say, because I cannot believe that you will fail to recognize in it a great duty, a duty which you will set yourself to discharge, no matter how great the cost. I do not forget what has come to be too often expected in our day from those who hold office when those who are their partisan associates are involved in wrong-doing. But I cannot believe that, in such a case as this, you will hesitate as to your duty, no matter where the doing of it may compel you to strike. Great place such as yours demands great courage and great sacrifice. Great crises such as that which has now come in the history of our city, and I think I may be forgiven if I add, in your own career, demand great acts. I cannot believe that you will disdain an opportunity so unique as that which now confronts you for action worthy of your office, your citizenship, your manhood.

I am, sir,

Respectfully yours,

HENRY C. POTTER,

Bishop of New York.

November 15, 1900.

REPLY OF THE MAYOR.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR:

I am in receipt this day of your letter of the 15th inst., relative to the conduct of members of the police force of this city towards your representatives connected with the Pro-Cathedral in Stanton Street, and to the public violation of law in that neighborhood.

I enclose to you herewith a copy of a communication which I have this day sent to the Board of Police Commissioners, with respect to these matters.

I have also sent a copy of your letter to the District Attorney of New York County, with the request that he assist and co-operate with you and with the Police Department.

I wish here to assure you that I will exert every power which the law has given me to right the wrongs and do away with the conditions of which you complain, and to secure a hearty and efficient co-operation by the Police Department with all who are working to do away with public violations of law and decency.

I stand ready at all times to assist and co-operate with you in this matter.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT A. VAN WYCK, Mayor.

City of New York, Office of the Mayor.

November 16, 1900.

LETTER TO THE POLICE COMMISSIONERS.

POLICE COMMISSIONERS OF THE CITY OF

NEW YORK:

GENTLEMEN:

I transmit to you herewith a communication this day received by me from the Right Reverend Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York.

I call your attention to the statements in this letter relative to the conduct of two members of the



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police force toward citizens who called on them for official aid and assistance. An officer who insults a citizen is a disgrace to the Service. You will immediately make a searching examination, and you will see to it that an offence so utterly disgraceful and outrageous is adequately punished.

I also call your attention to what the Bishop says as to the open and public violations of law and decency in the neighborhood of Stanton Street. You will, at once, take such steps as shall secure to him and to all working to the same end the co-operation and assistance of yourselves and your subordinates, to the fullest extent of your authority. This matter must receive your active and vigorous effort, and you must at once take such official action as will do away with the conditions of which the Bishop complains.

I wish it distinctly understood that to this end I shall use to the utmost limit all the power vested in me, and that I shall hold to personal responsibility those who fail to exert themselves in like manner.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT A. VAN WYCK, Mayor.

City of New York, Office of the Mayor,  
November 16, 1900.

Upon application to Bishop Paddock to send some information concerning the matter treated of in this chapter he kindly sent the following letter:

P. O. Address, Baker City, Oregon,  
July 13th, 1909.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:—

I am glad to hear that you are getting out a book entitled "Bishop Potter in Social Reform."\*

\*This title was afterwards changed to "Bishop Potter, the People's Friend."

The Stanton Street work was but one proof of his interest in, and sense of responsibility for the solution of these complicated problems. I happened to be boarding at the Settlement, studying the housing, working and recreation conditions, when Bishop Potter came down to visit the work. I shall never forget the courage it put into the people, the hopefulness which came into their lives, as they realized that this leader amongst men was going to see with his own eyes the dark, crowded, dirty tenements and sweat shops where they had been apparently condemned to suffer and die. Now, they felt that they had an able general on their side, whom they knew, and who knew them, and who would lead their disorganized army in its fight for light, air, cleanliness and a living wage.

I believe this great bishop learned more, if I may dare say so, of the real needs of the poor, in the few days that he ate, slept and worked on the East Side, than from all the books he had read or reports he had heard up to that time. I believe he set an example that every leader in social reform ought to follow. Only as we live ourselves, at least for a time, in a congested district, can we understand even faintly what poverty means, and the effect of the confused, deafening, incessant noise, the horrible smells, the heartbreaking sights and never-ending excitement. Because Bishop Potter saw with his own eyes and heard with his own ears, day after day through that summer's experience, was he able, when the diocesan convention requested him, to write such a letter to the mayor as to arouse the whole community to a sense of shame and indignation at the conditions which it, through its culpable civic ignorance and indifference had allowed to grow up in its midst. That letter focussed the movement which had been growing for months, and was a very important factor in turning Croker, Van Wyck, Devery, and the forces of evil and corruption,

out of power in New York, and in bringing Low, Jerome and honest government.

Though this refers to political reform, yet social reform is so closely allied to it, and is so apparently impossible to attain without it, that the two may be really treated together.

I have already written too much. Forgive me. My associations through several years with this great civic leader were so close that I just had to tell you how glad I was that you were going to tell us fully of one of the chief interests in his life and work.

Looking forward eagerly to reading your book, I remain, with all good wishes and kindest remembrances,

Faithfully yours,

ROBT. L. PADDOCK.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE RELATION OF C. A. I. L. TO THE GENERAL AND DIOCESAN CONVENTION.

C. A. I. L. has been influential in Diocesan conventions in presenting measures looking towards peace between labor and the reform of industrial abuses, but the first effort made by the Society to reach the General Convention was in Washington in 1898. The Society had become national in significance and influential in affecting the mind of the Church. The Reverend Joseph Reynolds, jr., Vice-President, attended the convention, spoke concerning C. A. I. L. to the Bishops and distributed copies of a report of the work and aims of the society addressed to "The Bishops and House of Clerical and Lay Deputies." This report was also distributed to the clerical and lay deputies by permission of Dr. Dix. At the request of Mr. Reynolds the Rev. Dean Hodges, of Cambridge, moved that the report be referred to the Committee on the State of the Church. There was, however, no report from that committee, although Mr.

Reynolds returned to New York very much pleased that the report had been received favorably by so many persons.

It was voted by the Executive Committee to send the Secretary and Organizer of the Society to San Francisco at the time of the General Convention in 1901. At that Convention the important measure was passed creating a Labor Commission, and, as the Reverend Randolph H. McKim of Washington, was responsible for initiating this measure, it will be well to let him tell how this was done. The following extract is from an address of Dr. McKim before a meeting of the C. A. I. L. in New York:

I have known about C. A. I. L. in my own parish through the visits of your omnipresent secretary, but I am glad to be here and to take part in your earnest efforts to better the condition of your fellow creatures. The text of what I shall say is in my hand, and it is longer than I generally preach from, but I ought to read it. It is as follows:

**" THE CHURCH AND LABOR QUESTIONS."**

The following preamble and resolutions, bearing upon the great question of capital and labor, were adopted by both Houses at the recent Triennial Convention of the Church held in San Francisco:

WHEREAS, the Church of Jesus Christ has been commissioned by Her Lord to be the friend and counselor of all sorts and conditions of men, rich and poor alike, without respect of persons; and

WHEREAS, it is a part of her divine mission

to be a mediator and peacemaker between those who are at strife, one with another; and

WHEREAS, the relations of labor and capital, which ought to be harmonious, are from time to time very seriously disturbed, to the prejudice of peace and good-will among the people of the land, and often to the suffering of thousands of women and children, as well as to the sowing of bitterness and strife between brethren; and

WHEREAS, the Christian Church would be untrue to Her Master, the Carpenter of Nazareth, if She were not the friend of the laboring man, and did not hold his welfare as dear to Her heart as that of his employer; therefore,

RESOLVED, the House of Bishops concurring, that a joint Commission of both Houses, to consist of three Bishops, three Presbyters, and three laymen, be appointed (the Bishops in such manner as the House of Bishops shall determine, and the other members by the President of the House of Deputies) as a standing Commission upon the relations of capital and labor, and employers and workpeople, whose duties it shall be: First, to study carefully the aims and purposes of the labor organizations of our country; second, in particular, to investigate the causes of industrial disturbances, as these may arise; and, third, to hold themselves in readiness to act as arbitrators, should their services be desired, between the men and their employers, with a view to bring about mutual conciliation and harmony in the spirit of the Prince of Peace;

RESOLVED, that the said Commission shall make report of its proceedings to the General Convention;

RESOLVED, That it is desirable that the above-named Commission should be continued by reappointment every three years.

Perhaps I ought to say how it happened that the resolutions that you have heard were produced. We were traveling on the Canada Pacific on Sunday

morning, the train being eight hours late. As we could not get anywhere to church we had church in the car, and eighty persons were present. Among them was Mr. Williams, from Canada, Commissioner of Alien Labor, I think. We asked him if it were not true that there was among laboring men a feeling of estrangement from the Church, because laboring men had come to believe that the Church had no care or thought for the poor or for the wage-worker, but gave the most attention to the well-to-do. The question arose whether it would not have a good effect, if the Church would take some step in this matter. Individual Churchmen, such as Bishop Potter and Archbishop Ireland, had done such work; but it was felt that these distinguished gentlemen represented only themselves. He said that such was unfortunately the case.

After this conversation I drew up the resolutions and read them to the Commissioner. He said they would have a very happy effect on laboring men in the removal of prejudice. The resolutions were read to several of the deputies, and every one approved. At the same time, however, there was doubt as to whether such resolutions could be passed, because in the General Convention, as in all other similar bodies, there are men who see ghosts when there are none—men who are afraid of going outside of what the Church has been accustomed to do. However, it seemed to me the right thing, and so, prayerfully, on the second day of the Convention, I brought in the resolutions, and asked that they might go on the calendar, which was done. But there were so many important things on that calendar—such as the Provincial system and other matters—that in ten or twelve days they were no nearer than at first. Meanwhile, I tried to feel the pulse of the Convention. One man said, "No, sir; I am for capital every time." Another said, "You have got in deeper waters than you will ever be able to swim in." Still

another remarked, "You are chasing rainbows." Well, ever since God put His bow in the clouds we have been chasing rainbows, not, however, for the pot of gold, but for the Covenant of God's mercy towards men. The Apostles chased rainbows, St. Paul pre-eminently, and so do the missionaries of today, following in his footsteps, who go out over the world, seeking not material good, but the spiritual betterment of mankind.

After a time it seemed better to wait no longer, and I asked for a suspension of the rules, and begged the Convention to take time to consider the resolutions. I believed so thoroughly in their justice and common sense that I was perfectly willing to submit them without any discussion. The rules were suspended, the resolutions were passed, and nobody raised a single voice against them. It seemed to me that the Church of Jesus Christ ought to bestir Herself in a matter that touches such vital affairs of the community.

This Commission is to study this question. For my own part I make no pretensions to understand these profound and difficult problems. I do desire to be a learner. The Rev. Dr. Peters, who has for years familiarized himself with these questions, in writing to me on the subject, said it was the most important act of the Convention because it dealt with vital questions in the province of the Church. It is a recognition by the Church of Her obligation to understand the greatest problems of our time. I do not believe that one out of fifty in the Church really studies these great problems. What does the average man in our Churches know of the great principles of co-operation, or the history of labor organizations in this country? Consider what organized labor has done to improve the condition of the workingmen. Seventy or eighty years ago the condition of laborers in factories was far worse than the condition of the slaves in the South. I



have lived in the South, and I know that the material condition of the slaves was better. In 1832-33, in many of the mills in this country, the women and children had to go to work at half-past four in the morning, and continue at work fourteen or fifteen hours a day. Labor organizations have done a splendid work, and I honor them. They have been lifting up the masses of the people, who are not contented any more. Their ambition is aroused to be men and women, and their song is: "Eight hours for work; eight hours for sleep; and eight hours to do what we will." I do not say whether in the present conditions of labor, the eight-hour day is always attainable; but all these things are to be judged by the effect they have on manhood and womanhood. They want some time to look away from their work out on the great world, and to breathe the pure air of heaven; they want some time with their families; and, therefore, their discontent is healthful.

This Commission expects to act. Meanwhile, however, before it gets into harness, it is a great deal for such a Commission to exist, and by its very existence to bear testimony to the fact that the Church is not absolutely indifferent to, or careless of these questions.

This was first discussed in the House of Bishops which adopted the preamble and series afterwards concurred in by the House of Deputies, on motion of Dr. McKim. It was my good fortune as Secretary and Organizer of C. A. I. L. to be present in San Francisco at the time of the Convention, and the C. A. I. L. members there were filled with joy when this was unanimously passed, because what the

Society was established for namely, to arouse the Church seemed nearer of accomplishment. This forward step received cordial appreciation from the Press of the country. It was my duty, also, to address the Committee on the State of the Church and ask for recognition for our society. This was not accorded until the Convention of four years later.

A C. A. I. L. mass-meeting was arranged to take place during the Convention, Bishop Coleman, one of the Vice-Presidents of C. A. I. L., and an old and tried friend of the labor movement, had consented to preside and Bishop Potter to speak. The meeting was slated for Trinity Church, the headquarters of the Convention; but a change of the Missionary meetings from afternoon to evening made this impossible, and through a very natural error on the part of the local committee I was not notified that the meeting could not be held at Trinity, and learned it only on the morning of the day appointed for the meeting. Naturally the day was an active one in trying to repair the error, and the local committee rendered every aid in its power and suggested that, if possible, the Alhambra theatre should be secured, which was done. The following Press extract will show the character of the meeting. The Press of San Francisco received warm commendation

from Bishop Potter for the tone of their reports during the Convention. A great deal of space was given, and they were dignified and accurate.

Many, no doubt, went to Trinity Church for the purpose of attending the labor meeting and remained to listen to those who were speaking in behalf of the missionary work of the Church. As it was, fully 1,000 men and women were present at the meeting at the Alhambra theatre and made up in interest and enthusiasm what they lacked in numbers. Bishop Coleman called the meeting to order shortly after eight o'clock, and asked those present to rise and join in repeating the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. At the conclusion of this short Service Bishop Coleman said in part:

Although the General Convention of the Church is tonight discussing the missionary work of the Church, we do not feel in conflict with them, for we are going to do exactly the same thing. This Society is a missionary society. It is a society for the promotion of the interests of labor, and it is a Church Society for that purpose. We are just as legitimately employed here as they are there. All missionary work is to make this world a less unfit dwelling-place for God and His children; to abate many of the great evils of the day; to help the poor and rich as well. We have banded ourselves together to right many of these wrongs, to remedy these evils. We wish, primarily, to enable the laborer to receive those wages which are eminently his due. We wish to see the proper adjustment of the values of capital and labor, and to know that each receives its fair share. I greatly misunderstand the meaning of the Incarnation of the Blessed Saviour, if this work is not of a missionary nature and the proper work of our dear God's own Church.

The speaker then briefly introduced Bishop Potter, who was accorded a most flattering reception as he stepped forward:

The object of the existence of the Christian religion in the world was from the beginning to bring together all interests, to give fair play to all, to make of men brothers. The mission of society today is to recall the disciples of God to their earlier work. Christianity entered the world at a peculiar period in its history—when the power and the civilization of the entire world centered in one place—Rome; when new and strange ideals prevailed. There was the monarchical idea and the idea of despotism. Classes were clearly defined. Therefore, is it strange that, when the New Testament came, it should have assimilated itself to the usages of the time? The military idea in the formation of Society today is a pagan idea, and the aristocratic idea of Society is likewise a pagan idea. These forms develop into inexorable power, which drives the weaker to the wall and the poorer underneath the rich. Let us go back to the feudal ages, which we think were so much worse than the present day. In those days there grew up the great trade unions which we call the guilds. While we think the trade union of today is nearly perfect, it lacks many things which made for good in the guilds. For one thing, the guilds gave the employer and the employed common interest, and no one dare say that the labor union of today does that.

We have not yet learned to extinguish that characteristic by which we differentiate between those antagonistic elements that make up modern Society. There is no complete harmony of sentiment and idea. The mischief of the modern social order is that the moment people begin to accumulate money or lands or any other valuables, other people

begin to differentiate themselves from the cause that should be harmoniously co-operated in by all alike. Christianity received sinners and ate with them, but the modern Phariseeism prompts men to ignore those who are beneath them socially, or whose degree is of the baser sort. The greatest missionary society in the world is that society which follows the precepts of Christianity and establishes a brotherhood among all sorts and conditions of men. That is the aim of the C. A. I. L. It is to remedy defects we come in contact with every day that the Association was called into being. I stood one day in front of a factory and saw five hundred men going out to dinner. I said to the owner of the factory: "How many of these men do you know?" He looked at me astonished, and, though he did not say it, I knew he felt that I was very presumptuous. The times require a change from conditions like this. The laborer and employer must be brought closer together. You may legislate as you please, impose taxation as you please, or by any other process readjust the conflicting elements of modern Society, but, if you have not your heart in the work, you will fail utterly. The solution of the labor problem consists in the awakening in the hearts of the employer, a deep concern for the welfare of those who are in his employ. Their ideas and hopes should not be antagonistic. They should mingle together and observe the laws of social contact. Their aims being identical their methods should be harmonious if those aims are to be subserved.

With regard to the Board of Mediation and Arbitration in New York, of which I have the honor to be chairman, it has been the means of settling several strikes and adjusting many labor problems. I remember once we had a general meeting at the See House and we all sat round and did nothing at all. There was no sympathy and no touch of human feeling to bring us together.

Finally, on adjournment, I suggested that our next meeting be held at my own house. There we sat round before an open fire and smoked, and drank coffee, and in no time at all there was a feeling of friendship and cordiality; tongues that had been tied were loosened. There, ladies and gentlemen, is the whole secret; we were brought into personal contact. And in that self-same contact lies the solution of the social questions of the day. Feudalism is dead, but we have not yet exterminated that feeling by which we differentiate between people.

I commend to you this Society, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor. Miss Keyser will tell you something about it presently and I hope she will not forget to tell you one thing, and that it is in the opinion of a great many of us a most beautiful thought to try and arouse men and women to things by every year serving a great supper—a supper at which at the same table the employer and the workingman and woman sit down and at which most of the speakers have to tell the story of labor. I wish you could have heard the story some of us heard from quivering lips, halting and imperfect, but incomparable in its pathos, of a young garment worker who worked in a sweatshop in New York, as she told it to us at the last C. A. I. L. supper. San Francisco should have a C. A. I. L., then have a supper.

Miss Keyser in an address which was reported at length set forth the object of organization in San Francisco.

Frederick Foster, of San Francisco, a member of C. A. I. L., and, also, of the Typographical Union, was the last speaker of the evening. He urged it as the duty of Church members to interest them-

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selves in workingmen, citing the example of Christ, Who chose His Disciples from this class. He enlarged upon the difficulties which a workingman encounters in learning his trade, and upon the lack of a sympathetic understanding between employers and their men. As a means toward remedying the sweatshop evil he urged his hearers to refrain from the purchase of articles produced by underpaid labor.

### C. A. I. L. MASS MEETING DURING THE TRIENNIAL CONVENTION, BOSTON, 1904.

This meeting was held in Faneuil Hall on the evening of October 13th, the clergy being largely represented in the audience. Many labor men were present and evinced great interest in the proceedings. On account of a cold, Bishop Lawrence, who expected to preside, was absent and the Rev. Joseph Reynolds of Rutland, Vt., was elected chairman for the evening.

Much disappointment was felt that Bishop Potter was absent on account of presiding at an entertainment in New York, given by the pilgrims to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The following letter from him was read at the meeting:

October 13th, 1904.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

It is a matter of great regret to me that I cannot tonight be with the Association, but a duty in New York of an imperative character compels me to be away. May I ask you to convey to the authorities of the Association, the assurance of my heartfelt sympathy in all that they are doing?

Very faithfully yours,

HENRY C. POTTER.

Right Reverend William Lawrence, D.D.

The Reverend F. J. C. Moran was introduced, the chairman alluding to the earnest and effective work he had done as chairman of the Sweatshop Committee of the Society. Mr. Moran described conditions and work of his committee, being followed by Henry Abrahams, Secretary of the International Cigar-makers' Union and also Secretary of the Central Labor Union of Boston.

#### MR. ABRAHAM'S ADDRESS.

You will not expect a scholarly address from me. I was going to speak here tonight on the future of the workingman, but in the time allowed it is impossible to do justice to such a large subject. If you go back to the Stone age, the Iron age, and trace the evolution of man from slaves up to the present time, we must realize that much has been accomplished. We have gradually gone up and up until today we are lawmakers—sometimes law-breakers, for we are but human, and we make mistakes but we are not the only ones who make mistakes. The Church can afford to be charitable to the workingman, for he has not had the opportunities, not the education of the employer. I want to tell you a little story of the union of which I am the secretary in this city. In 1882, thirteen men met for the purpose of forming a local union. Wages were low, hours long, each employer paid what he thought fit, and if there was anything that was unpopular, it was the trade union movement. In 1886 the organization reduced the hours of daily labor to eight. We had three kinds of labor to contend with—coolie labor, prison labor and the labor of the sweatshops in New York City. We felt sure that there were people who would not want to smoke cigars made under these unsanitary conditions, so we had the idea of putting a label on the box. A bright young fellow said, "Let us make



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it the third color of the American flag!" and that was the origin of the first union label on the civilized globe, and today there are fifty-seven, and the blue label on a box of cigars insures that it is made under cleanly conditions, that no child labor is allowed in its making, and that proper wages are paid to the men.

Our thirteen members have grown to 2,100, and every shop is a closed shop. Women receive the same pay as men for the same work. We have 44,000 members in the United States. Our sick benefit fund, our out-of-work fund, and our burial fund insure proper care to the unfortunate among us. This is all the work of the trade union, and I say, Mr. Chairman, that even the Church need not be ashamed of it. The clergyman who preceded me (Mr. Moran) is the first, I must say, that I ever heard say a word for the closed shop. But I think if you understood that the closed shop means no child labor, proper wages and hours for the workingman, you would follow his example.

What does the trade union want? Better conditions of labor, a shorter working day, a bathroom in every house that is erected. And we won't be satisfied till we get them. The Church can be a great power, if it is equal to the emergency. I know the good the Christian Church has done, although I am not a Christian. It must remember that the men and women in the trade unions are God's creatures, and also believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

The following extract is from the address of Dr. Peters:

### DR. PETER'S ADDRESS.

I suppose that every Christian realizes that the labor problems are things that come within the

scope of Christianity. The same is true of missions, but we never succeeded in doing anything in missions until we organized. That is the reason we need a Society like C. A. I. L. We know that these social problems ought to be a matter of thought in the Church; but, as a matter of fact, the Church does not thoroughly realize the nature of the problems that have to be met. If the Christian people are thoroughly alive to what is to be done, I believe that they can always influence the community. That the community is not aroused shows that the Church is not awake. This Church used to be considered the Church of the well-to-do. In my own Church in New York City we have as many poor as rich. When there was a strike among the cloakmakers we had a mass-meeting, at which Bishop Potter presided, and strikers, mostly Hebrews, were invited to speak from the steps of the chancel and tell their wrongs. The same sort of thing is necessary, if we are going to handle these problems. We believe that the Church is the heart of the community; from the Church goes out the lifeblood which pulses through the community.

Bishop Brent said in part:

I could not help feeling, as Mr. Abrahams spoke of being a creature of environment, how little a creature of environment he shows himself to be. His bearing and his words both show that he is a character, and every true son of toil is just that very thing. Every man who faces the problems of life with courage and determination is bound to be not the victim of his surroundings, but to triumph over them. It is because you and I feel that we are capable of adopting environment to personalities that we are banded together. Again, if Mr. Abrahams will allow me to use him as a text, let me

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say, and you feel it, I am sure, that true eloquence lies not in facile speech, but in character, in sincerity, and in logic, and I think I can say without flattery that we have all of us heard that kind of eloquence tonight.

Now, I am here to express my sympathy, not so much by speech as by my presence, but I do wish you to know how heartily I agree with what this Association stands for. It is two years since I cut loose in a way from the problems which confront you here, and at first the words "closed shop" did not convey any meaning to me, but may I say, not merely as representing my own opinion, but on behalf of other clergymen, that, if the closed shop means the exclusion of child labor and a fair wage for a fair day's work, then there is not one of our cloth who does not subscribe for it.

The Reverend Thatcher Kimball and Mr. C. E. A. Winslow, of the Institute of Technology, both representing the Boston Chapter of C. A. I. L., were introduced, the former summarizing the objects of the organization he represented, and the latter giving an account of the work done by the Boston Chapter for the clerks in the retail grocery trade.

The Secretary of C. A. I. L., Miss Keyser, spoke briefly and handed to Bishop Brent the following from the Executive Committee of the Association, which he read to the audience and which was unanimously adopted:—

From the Executive Committee of the Church Association for Advancement of the interests of Labor:

WHEREAS, The relations of Capital and Labor are so inharmonious that conflicts are frequent; and

WHEREAS, conciliation is often more honored in the breach than in the observance, and arbitration is yet in an inchoate state, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this meeting under the auspices of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, calls upon Capital and Labor to employ first in labor difficulties that conciliation which is in the interest of industrial peace, thus preventing the necessity of arbitration; and

WHEREAS, In the midst of human imperfection and liability to errors of judgment conciliation cannot always be compassed; be it further

RESOLVED, That this meeting calls upon capital and labor to evolve some authoritative system of arbitration.

Another mass-meeting, under the auspices of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, to consider the subject of "Social and Industrial Righteousness," was held in the Church of the Advent, Boston, on the afternoon of October 16, the Right Reverend H. C. Potter, D. D., in the chair. The meeting was opened by a brief Service, said by the Reverend William Harmon Van Allen, S. T. D., Rector of the church. The hymns sung were the well-known "Hail to the Lord's Anointed." "Thy Kingdom Come, O Lord," and "Sons of Labor, dear to Jesus." After the service, Dr. Van Allen said that for fifty years the Church of the Advent had put down all distinction between classes in the interests of the worship

of a common Father, and that C. A. I. L. is distinguished among all other societies, by its eminently practical character and the value of the work which has been accomplished. It is a society which numbers among its officers eighty of our bishops.

Bishop Potter then said in part:

There is a strong temptation on such an occasion to be reminiscent, and I have at least the advantage of my brother, the Rector of this parish, that I knew the Church of the Advent before he was born, and have watched its influence upon the life of the city of Boston. There are a great many delightful people in Boston, but a good many of them this afternoon look upon it as a curious idea to have in connection with the General Convention a meeting of a society for the advancement of the interests of labor. They consider that the Church, in representing the interests of religion, has nothing to do with the questions of capital and labor. Now, this church stands specially for Worship, and I am glad of that, my dear brother; but I am especially glad that such a church has been selected, and, if I had been permitted to pick out a place for this meeting I should have chosen this church. The Church is in the world, representing the welfare of Religion. The object of Religion is worship. But what is the good of Worship and Religion unless it helps you and me to understand the relations that exist between us and our fellow men, in the light and mind of God and His Son Jesus Christ? I suppose it is a part of the Christian religion to teach those who have that they must serve and make sacrifices for those who have not. The organization of human society, as Christ found it, was along purely

secular and selfish lines, and these have held in a great many places. The shame and dishonor of the Church is that she clung to them, and that ecclesiastics were foremost in insisting upon distinctions and upon the maintenance of a spirit of caste in a great many ways.

The other speakers were the Reverend Floyd Tomkins, who gave an account of the early history of C. A. I. L. noted in an earlier chapter, and Dr. Peters who spoke at the mass meeting in Faneuil Hall.

Other work to be noted is that at the request of the Executive Committee of C. A. I. L., the Reverend George Hodges, D. D., Dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, presented the following memorial and report at a session of the General Convention which was the first document signed by Mr. Sill, as Vice-President.

The Rev. Thomas Henry Sill, Vicar of St. Chrysostom's Chapel, was elected Vice-President in 1904. He had always been interested in social reform and C. A. I. L., from its earliest days was welcome at St. Chrysostom's. He was thus a natural successor to Mr. Reynolds. He has always been devoted to the interests of even the worst, and worked as energetically and cheerfully in Hell's Kitchen in its worst days as among the more favored.

MEMORIAL.

To the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America:

The last General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church appointed an Industrial Committee, consisting of three Bishops, three Presbyters and three laymen. The Executive Committee of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor respectfully request that said committee be continued.

Since the last Triennial Convention the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor has pursued its work, giving especial attention to conciliation and arbitration in labor difficulties; and as it is distinctly a Church Association, admitting only communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church to full membership, and having eighty bishops of that Church as Vice-Presidents, the Executive Committee of this Association begs to present the following report, and respectfully requests that the Committee on the State of the Church pay especial attention to the work of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, and, if possible, give it official recognition.

Rev. Thomas H. Sill, Vice-President.  
Harriette A. Keyser, Secretary.

The report referred to in the memorial is not given here, but the former recognition of C. A. I. L. by the Committee on the State of the Church is quoted from the portion of its report dealing with the relations of the Church to both Capital and Labor:

Your committee desires to commend the work of such organizations as have contributed to bring about the recognition of mutual responsibility, and in this connection would make special mention of THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF LABOR.

Your committee has been informed of endeavor made to procure the establishment of courts of arbitration, to determine by peaceful measures, controversies between men, and between States. Your committee trusts that all Churchmen will ever remember that the King we serve is the Prince of Peace. To promote conciliation between those that are alienated, to put an end to conflict between those that contend, these be Christian duties, to which the Christian man must lend his best endeavor for their accomplishment.

Bishop Potter was always impressed by the patience of C. A. I. L. through years of partial indifference shown by the Church to its work. He rejoiced with the Society that at last a measure of recognition had been secured from the Convention.

During this Convention there came to the secretary of C. A. I. L., a letter stating that the Society had received from the exposition in St. Louis a silver medal in recognition of its work.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### DIOCESAN SOCIAL SERVICE COMMISSIONS— C. A. I. L. CONVENTIONS.

IN the Episcopal Church no more important work of Social reform was ever instituted, than a general call for Social Service Commissions given by the general convention at Richmond in 1907. This demand must be traced back to the C. A. I. L. convention in Synod Hall, New York in May 1906.

Bishop Potter was in Europe and could not attend this Convention. Bishop Darlington who was present gave an address in which he spoke of his long connection with C. A. I. L. and of a meeting attended in 1888, at Grace Chapel when Bishop Huntington and Reverend Arthur Brooks as well as himself made addresses. Since that time, he said you have merited the commendation, "Blessed are the peacemakers." You have always been on the side of peace. I know personally of one strike in Brooklyn, settled by the Chairman of the Sweatshop Committee, Rev. F. J. C. Moran, to the perfect satisfaction of both parties concerned. In the A. C. A. work also, the aid which comes from his Society is most admirable. There has been great progress during these nineteen years.

He commended *Hammer and Pen* and hoped it would be continued as he knew personally that it

had been a strong influence for good. Bishop Darlington moved, and the motion was carried with enthusiasm, that the greetings of the Convention be sent to Bishop Potter.

The following reply, dated London, was received:

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

A great many thanks for your kind note of the 11th inst., with its delightful message of greeting from the C. A. I. L. It was an unmixed disappointment to me to be absent from the Convention and the supper, and I am rejoiced to hear that all went well with you. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the influence and example of C. A. I. L. in a generation when both are surely needed.

Pray give my affectionate salutations to the brothers and sisters of C. A. I. L. as you may have the opportunity, and believe me always, dear Miss Keyser,

Faithfully yours,

HENRY C. POTTER.

At this Convention a resolution was presented by Mr. J. C. Pumpelly, which resulted in the appointment of a committee to consider the relation of religious bodies to labor.

Bishop Potter was present at the C. A. I. L. Convention of 1907, and, in preparation for the same, added to the words of the Call to the Convention upon request of the Secretary:

April 17, 1907.

MY DEAR MISS KEYSER:

I would add, I think, to the words of the call, which I return, the following:

This Association stands for the earliest effort on the part of the Church for an intelligent apprecia-

tion of, and a friendly and helpful relation to the wants and claims, and hardships of workingmen and women. It may be that its calling is to merge itself in some large movement along the same line. But, if this shall be so, the Convention to be held, as above indicated, on May 13th, ought to be one of especial interest and enthusiasm.

If you wish to modify or enlarge this in any way, pray do so; and then sign it for me.

Very faithfully yours,

HENRY C. POTTER.

BISHOP POTTER'S ADDRESS TO THE C. A. I. L.  
CONVENTION OF 1907.

The President based his remarks on the words taken from the Epistle for the Sunday after Ascension. "As every man hath received the gift even so minister the same to another as good stewards of the manifold grace of God." This is what this Association aims to do. We happen to be living in a time of great social activity. There never has been a time since Christianity began when every one has been so much concerned about the other man and woman. Yet many leave out of sight that for which this Association stands. It is entirely possible to realize existing evils, especially those to the under man, without realizing the cure. It often oppresses me to find so widespread the conviction that the cruelty of the employer and the greed of the capitalist can be cured by law. Some consider a law only to evade it, and laws are often so constructed as to facilitate such evasion. So every year we go on loading the statute books with laws which have been passed with the greater facility because they are no protection to the weak. In order to get such protection and certain elements of justice, you have got to go a great deal higher. "If any man minister let him do it as of the

ability which God giveth." Whatever we undertake must be done with this idea.

Some people refer to our title with a sneer, "The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor." They say you have committed yourselves to the interests of one class. This sounds clever until you ask them what they mean by "interests." Only lower interests? The only interests worth serving are the higher interests. I hope this Association is to give the initiative to a larger movement in the Church. I wrote to Dean Hodges, "The time has come for the whole Church—not only the Diocese of New York—to take a definite stand with regard to this most important subject." The time has come for C. A. I. L. to bring pressure on the General Convention. I want every man and woman here to write to the delegates whom they know or in anyway can affect and ask them to take action in this direction.

C. A. I. L. should never forget that the initiative in social work in the Church has been given by this Association. All that has been done by our brothers outside of our own body of Christians has been along the way pointed out by C. A. I. L. That is a distinction and a nobility which we must remember. May God give you wisdom and strength for the great task which is before you!

#### REPORT AT C. A. I. L. CONVENTION 1907 TO CONSIDER RELATION OF RELIGIOUS BODIES TO LABOR.

Resolution presented by J. C. Pumpelly and passed at the Convention of C. A. I. L., May 8, 1906:

WHEREAS, in the efforts that have been made to procure a better understanding between capital and

labor, other religious bodies—notably the Presbyterians and Congregationalists—through their official organizations, have taken steps to enter into relations with labor organizations by creating departments of Church and Labor, appointing fraternal delegates, and the like.

RESOLVED, That this Convention heartily commends the general principles expressed in such action, and that the Executive Committee of C. A. I. L. be and is requested to confer with the proper authorities in these religious bodies and ascertain in detail what action has been taken, and to formulate and present to the next Convention of C. A. I. L. a report on the same, and, if it seems desirable, recommend for similar action on the part of our Church, either through the General Convention or through the various diocesan conventions.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of C. A. I. L., held May 22d, 1907, Dr. Peters presented the following resolution, which was duly passed:

RESOLVED, That a committee of three be appointed to confer with the representatives of Presbyterian, Congregational, or other religious organizations which have appointed committees to deal with labor questions, fraternal delegates, etc., to learn precisely their methods, the success of the same, and any other pertinent facts, and to report the same to the Executive Committee.

In accordance with the foregoing resolutions, a committee was appointed, consisting of Mr. J. O. Pumpelly, Rev. H. M. Barbour and the Rev. Dr. Peters. Your committee conferred with the representatives of the Presbyterian Church Labor Committee to ascertain the scope and the method of working of that committee.

The Presbyterian General Assembly, which is the national body of the Presbyterian Church, established some years since a department of Church and Labor, which is in official relationship to the Presby-

terian Church as part of the Home Mission Committee. The following resolution with regard to the object and aims of this work was adopted:

"Appreciating the increasing importance of the industrial problem, and realizing that the labor question is fundamentally a moral and a religious question, and that it will never be settled upon any other basis, we recommend that the Presbyterian Home Mission Committee appoint subcommittees for the purpose of making a systematic study of the entire problem in their respective localities.

These committees shall co-operate with the Department of Church and Labor, thus establishing, in connection with the organized Presbyterianism of every city in America, a board of experts, who may be able to inform the Churches with respect to the aims of organized labor, and to inform the workmen concerning the mission of the Church."

The head of this Department of Church and Labor is the Rev. Charles Steizle, and his headquarters are in New York.

Your committee finds that the Presbyterian Department of Church and Labor has, among other useful instrumentalities, a remarkably complete clearinghouse of information and a Press bureau which reaches weekly labor papers through thousands of carefully written articles; that it sends out leaflets full of tabulated information to ministers and teachers, as well as to wage-earners. There are, also, fraternal delegates to every important labor union, who are continually presenting in those labor unions the Christian point of view of the labor question. In Chicago, shop meetings at the noon hour were organized in a large number of shops, and, through the instrumentality of this Department of Church and Labor, the same shop-work was undertaken here in New York in the winter just past, through the immediate agency of the Federation of Churches.

The Congregationalists in their General Assembly officially have recognized the importance of social and economic questions, and appointed from year to year a committee, which was reported conditions, and recommended closer relationships; but, owing partly to their different form of government and organization, the Congregationalists have undertaken no such specific and practical work as the Presbyterians.

Your committee finds that, in one diocese of our own Church the diocese of Long Island, there is a Committee on Social Service, part of the work of which is to consider social-economic questions, to come in touch with laboring men in their unions, and to bring them in touch with the Church. The chairman of this special department is the Rev. John H. Melish, of Holy-Trinity Church, Brooklyn. He is an official fraternal delegate of the Church in Long Island to the Central Federated Union.

In the Church at large there has been official action in the appointment by the General Convention in San Francisco in 1901 of a Commission on the Relation of Capital and Labor, which reported to the General Convention in Boston in 1904, recommending careful consideration of the questions of the relation of capital and labor by the Church, and suggesting literature for the study of these themes. This committee was reappointed at that Convention, and is therefore, still in existence.

Semi-officially the Church is represented by C. A. I. L., which has received the recognition of the General Convention, and of which the great majority of the bishops of the Church are vice-presidents. It is needless for this committee to recite the achievements of C. A. I. L., the confidence which it has won in the ranks of organized labor, or the fact that through fraternal delegates, it has, official relation with the leading labor union organiza-

tions. It is the judgment of your committee, however, that the Church is not doing all that she might do in this matter. Your committee recommended that C. A. I. L. by action of its Convention, should call this whole subject to the attention of the General Convention, and urge upon that Convention not merely the continuance of a Commission on Capital and Labor, but the conferring upon that Commission of special powers and duties corresponding to those which the Presbyterians have conferred upon the Department of Church and Labor in their Home Mission Committee; that, further, the attention of diocesan conventions and especially of the Convention of New York, be called to the work of the Diocesan Convention of Long Island in creating a Committee of Social Service with considerable power of action; and your committee further recommends that the Executive Committee requests from the C. A. I. L. Convention authority to memorialize to this effect the General Convention, the Diocesan Convention of New York, and such other conventions as may seem expedient, after consultation with the President of C. A. I. L., and in conformity as to subject and methods with his suggestions.

JOHN C. PUMPELTY,  
HENRY M. BARBOUR,  
JOHN P. PETERS.

The requests of C. A. I. L. were presented to the House of Bishops by Bishop Potter, President of the Society, following is the report of the Joint Commission:

#### LABOR AND THE GENERAL CONVENTION.

The Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor begs to present the following report:



Since the report presented to the General Convention of 1904 the Commission has lost from its membership the Rev. Dr. Williams, now Bishop of Michigan, and Mr. George Pinckard. Their places have been taken by the Rev. E. L. Parsons and Mr. Henry Lewis Morris.

Under the general scope of the responsibilities laid upon it at its creation, the Commission reiterates the principles laid down in its report of 1904.

We believe, as we said then, that the cause of most labor troubles lies not so much in economic, as in moral conditions. We are ready to make our own the statement of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in organizing its Department of Church and Labor, that "the labor question is fundamentally a moral and a religious question, and that it will never be settled upon any other basis."

We believe that the chief mission of the Church at large in dealing with the economic questions of the present is to determine, to proclaim, and to insist upon this moral and religious basis. From very few pulpits of the Church can it be expected that any expert treatment of special issues can be given. Perhaps, it is well that that is the case; but the underlying moral principles of Society can be presented and their general application be made clearly, forcibly and fearlessly. Capital should be taught its duty of treating labor fairly, listening to its complaints patiently, and redressing its grievances wherever possible. Welfare-work should be urged upon it, and its trusteeship for the right use of its power insisted upon. Labor, on the other hand, should be taught respect for the rights of capital, reliance upon reason and persuasion, and a knowledge that violence and lawlessness are unworthy of a cause, which claims to be the cause of humanity. Both should be urged to submit to arbitration such differences, involving no vital principle, as they are unable to settle by friendly conference. Both

should be led to study the teaching of Christ as it bears upon the spirit and form of the social organism.

In further illustration of this application of Christianity, to present issues, we call attention again to the importance of the question of child labor, repeating and emphasizing what was said in our report of 1904. We perceive, indeed, that there are differences of opinion as to some of the facts involved. The actual amount of child labor in the various industries of this country and the actual amount of harm done to children by such labor are variously estimated by good men. The need of impartial and thorough investigation is evident. But this we maintain to be indisputable, that the protection of the health and character of youth is essential to the progress of the nation, and that the labor of young children under factory conditions is a plain menace to the general welfare, and is hostile to the spirit of the Christian religion. It is doubly deplorable where parents are responsible for forcing their children into wage-earning at an all too early age, often evading child labor laws by false statements. We call upon our brethren who are brought into relation with this matter to see to it that so far as they are concerned, no harm, physical or moral, shall come to even the least of those little ones, whom to serve is to serve Christ Himself.

In the instructions given it at its creation, the Commission was directed to the study of the aim and spirit of labor organizations. In this respect we deplore again the ignorance of clergy and laity alike. We note with regret, as bearing on this point, that our former recommendation of certain books upon these questions seems to have borne little fruit. Upon careful inquiry, it would appear that, with some local exceptions, there has been no greater demand for them than usual. It is clear

that, on the side of both Church and labor the mutual ignorance is great. The labor unionist praises the Carpenter of Nazareth. He distrusts the Church, which officially represents that Master Workman, while the Church, through ignorance, fails to understand the laborer's aims and motives.

It is equally clear that, where that ignorance is dispelled, fraternal relations may be readily established. In the Dioceses of Long Island and Los Angeles, and, possibly, others, fraternal delegates to labor councils have been welcomed. The C. A. I. L. and similar organizations have the respect and sympathy of the labor movements, while the great work accomplished by the Rev. Mr. Steizle of a great sister Communion, is a matter of common knowledge.

These general considerations are brought to a definite point, and made the basis of certain recommendations, which we desire to present, by communication which we have received from various bodies interested in these industrial and social problems.

We have received communications from the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, the Christian Social Union, the Companions of the Holy Cross and the Eight-hour League, and have heard a representative of the Christian Socialist Fellowship. Without entering into the special terms of each communication, three important matters are thus brought to our attention:

1. The co-ordination of various organizations in the Church interested in the labor problem.
2. The promotion of sympathetic relations with labor organizations; and
3. The use of the Press for the increase of knowledge and interest on the part of Church people.

Touching these in turn, we note the following facts:

1. Such work as is being done in the Church is sporadic and local. It is well known that the C. A. I. L. and the Christian Social Union express a dividing rather than a uniting of Church interest in these questions. In various dioceses, where neither of these organizations is represented, local committees or individual Bishops and clergy have, we believe, done good work. But there is no head; there is no united action; the influence of the Church is not brought to bear with power. It is our judgment that this condition should cease; that Diocesan Committees of Social Service and the like should be formed, and that they, with the local branches of existing organizations, be brought into mutual co-operation.

That can be done only through a body commissioned by the General Convention, with power adequate to the purpose.

2. In regard to the establishment of sympathetic relations with labor organizations, we have already spoken. We believe it is of essential importance. We believe, further, that it will be accomplished throughout the country on a wide scale only through the agency of some central body, which will initiate and stimulate.

3. It is clear likewise that only such a body will have scope enough to make proper and effective use of the Press. Under this head would fall the publication and circulation of brief tracts on special subjects, lists of books recommended for use, and tables of statistics and reports of progress, and, also, the use of the public Press in presenting all industrial questions in the light of Christian thought.

In considering the whole field, we are agreed

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in the belief that the first step to the realization of these and kindred objects is the establishment of this Commission upon a permanent basis.

We, therefore, present the following resolutions:

**RESOLVED**, The House of Deputies concurring, that the Joint Commission on the Relation of Capital and Labor to be made a permanent Commission.

**RESOLVED**, The House of Deputies concurring, that its powers be extended, to enable it to promote the co-ordination of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interests of social questions, and to extend our aid to them, to encourage sympathetic relations between capital and labor, to deal according to their discretion with these kindred matters.

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER RELATION OF RELIGIOUS BODIES TO LABOR.

PRESENTED AT MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF C. A. I. L., NOVEMBER 12, 1907.

At the last C. A. I. L. Convention your committee recommended that, as the Church is not doing all that she might do in the matter of better and more helpful relations with labor, C. A. I. L., by action in Convention, should, call this whole subject to the attention of the coming General Convention, and urge that the latter not only do continue a Commission on Capital and Labor, but do confer upon said Commission special powers and duties corresponding to those which the Presbyterians have conferred upon the Department of Church and Labor in their Home Mission Committee. Also, that the attention of the New

York Convention be called to the work of the Long Island Diocesan Convention in creating a Committee of Social Service, with considerable power of action.

In accordance with the above, the resolution was duly passed: "That the Executive Committee of C. A. I. L. memorialize the General Convention, the Diocese of New York, and such other dioceses as may be found possible, after conference with the President, Bishop Potter, on the subject."

Such a memorial was duly presented at the General Convention in Richmond, C. A. I. L. urging that the Church through the General Convention, should, "TAKE UP LABOR MATTERS AS A CHURCH, not leaving such action entirely in the hands of any Church society."

The answer to that memorial is contained in the report of the Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor to the General Convention, which has already been published in *Hammer and Pen*. That report, it will be noted, recommends the creation of Social Service committees by the various dioceses, and your committee recommends that C. A. I. L. take steps to make this report practically effective in this regard by advocating through its members in the various dioceses such action by their respective conventions. Your committee asks that the following resolution be approved, and that Canon J. P. Peters be asked to present the same at the coming New York Diocesan Convention:

**RESOLVED**, That, in accordance with the recommendations of the Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor to the General Convention of this Church, Diocesan Committees of Social Service and the like should be formed, and, in accordance with the recommendation of our beloved Diocesan in his Convention address, such action be

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taken by this Convention. A Social Service Committee be appointed, consisting of the Bishop, as its ex-officio head; one clergyman and one layman from each archdeaconry of the diocese, with six clergymen and six laymen at large, the duty of which committee shall be to carry into effect any measure recommended by the Diocesan Convention for the betterment of social conditions in the diocese.

J. C. PUMPELLY,  
Chairman.

At the New York Diocesan Convention in New York, 1907, a Social Service Commission was appointed.

In May, 1908, C. A. I. L. called a Conference, with delegates from Social Service Committees of different dioceses. The President of C. A. I. L. was not well enough to be present; but sent the following letter,—his last communication to the Society, whose object and work he had appreciated and helped with his commanding influence.

### BISHOP POTTER'S LETTER.

TO THE CONFERENCE WITH DELEGATES OF DIOCESAN  
SOCIAL SERVICE COMMITTEES IN SYNOD HALL,  
NEW YORK, MAY 11TH, 1908:

113 West 40th Street, New York,  
May 11th, 1908.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER:

It is a disappointment especially keen to me to be deprived of the pleasure of meeting with you and my brethren and friends of C. A. I. L. this evening.

In my judgment, no meeting of graver importance has ever been held by the Association. We are in the midst of grave discussions, widespread political movements, radical reorganizations of the great forces of labor and capital, and, indeed, of every fellowship that it is believed can contribute in any wise to the solution of our labor-problems. But among them all nothing is of such paramount importance as the birth in this Republic of a new and Divine spirit; and that can come alone from a Divine source. Too long has the Church suffered from that semi-suspicion of mind which has regarded social questions, the rights of the wage-earner, the protection of the poor, the succor of the needy, and the joint organization of labor, as though they were questions of secondary consequence in the light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. He did not so regard them, nor discuss them, and the pictures which our Divine Master draws of Society, constituted along the lines of His Divine Gospel, are portraiture of a society in which mutual service and self-sacrifice were the underlying laws.

We may well rejoice that the Church, whose sons and daughters we are, has so wisely and opportunely recognized these great truths, and in the action of Her General Convention, has opened such various doors for more explicit fellowship and service in every good cause that relates to them. If I had been able to be with you, I should have urged upon the C. A. I. L. some action which would put it into distinct and explicit relation to the Joint Committee on Social Service appointed at the last meeting of the Convention of the Diocese of New York.

May God overrule your deliberations to this end, and out of whatever differences may arise, among you, may He bring you to a reunited and fraternal action in the Spirit of our common Master!



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Pray convey my affectionate salutations to all my fellow-members in the C. A. I. L., and believe me, reverend and dear brother,

Your attached friend,

(Signed) HENRY CODMAN POTTER.

THE REVEREND THOMAS HENRY SILL,  
Vice-President.

After the reading of this letter, it was voted that a committee be appointed by the Chair to confer with the Social Service Committees of New York, Long Island, Massachusetts, and other dioceses where such committees exist, to keep C. A. I. L. in touch with these committees, to suggest lines of activity, and to help, if desired, in the development and organization of auxiliaries and auxiliary work. The committee appointed consisted of the Rev. Henry M. Barbour, the Rev. F. J. C. Moran, Mr. Berrien Keyser, Miss Margaret S. Lawrence, and Miss Harriette A. Keyser.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### IN MEMORIAM.

THE end came at last after alternations of hope and fear and nothing remained but to do honor to a life spent in the interests of humanity. The following notice of the funeral is from *The Churchman*.

#### THE FUNERAL OF BISHOP POTTER.

Wednesday of last week was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the consecration of Bishop Potter in Grace Church, New York City; on that day and in Grace Church took place, also his funeral—a service strikingly impressive in its simplicity, dignity and beauty. A half dozen familiar and inspiring hymns were sung by a choir, whose voices chorded exquisitely with the organ, the harp, and the “cello,” and, perhaps, no person present ever heard the religious part of the service more beautifully rendered. The procession of clergy included more than 500 men. There were eighteen Bishops in the chancel, most of whom stood in close personal relations to Bishop Potter. The men who had the honor of acting as bearers were among the foremost in the city; and the church was crowded with a great congregation representing all the best elements of municipal life. The character of the con-

gregation bore eloquent witness to the fact that Bishop Potter was not only an ecclesiastic of great position and influence, but a great citizen, identified with many organizations dealing with the higher life of the city. It bore testimony also to the breadth of Bishop Potter's sympathies and the largeness of his spirit. He was a Catholic in the real sense of a much abused word. Among those who came to express the honor in which they held him were rabbis of Jewish faith, leading clergymen of Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and other Churches, Archimandrite Nicholas Hovitzky, of the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of St. Nicholas, and H. H. Topakyan, representing the Protestant, Persian, Greek, and Armenian Churches. The black pall over the casket bore the words: "It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power;" and two great palm leaves lay on the pall. The Service was conducted by the venerable Bishop Hare, of South Dakota, Bishop Lawrence, Bishop Mackay-Smith, Bishop McVickar, and Bishop Greer, who, by the death of Bishop Potter, becomes Bishop of the Diocese. Later in the day the body was interred in the crypt under the Altar of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, the first interment made in the great structure which will be a monument of Bishop Potter's leadership, courage, and far-seeing provision for the religious life of New York. From the beginning he interpreted the cathedral idea in terms of practical service, putting aside an endowment fund as rapidly as he secured money for the purposes of building, with the resolute determination to create a cathedral which should be great not only in its structure, but also in its multiform activities.

The burial in the crypt of the Cathedral was private. The Press notices bore eloquent tribute to the help rendered in the civic and industrial world. There were memorial meetings held by Church

societies and others. Two were in especial reference to his work among all the people.

The regular meeting, on November 17, 1908, of the New York Diocesan Branch of C. A. I. L. was a memorial to the late President of the General Society. The note of the meeting was "Peace" which Bishop Potter strove so intensely to promote. The meeting was held in the Parish House of the Beloved Disciple, the Rev. Henry M. Barbour, president of the Branch, in the chair.

Two of the speakers invited, Canon Peters and Dr. Canfield, were unable to be present and sent regrets. Mr. Barbour spoke briefly of the Bishop's readiness to take part in everything for the betterment of the community and of his wish that the Church should do her part in all the work of social betterment.

He then introduced Miss Keyser whose remarks related to the Bishop as she had known him and of C. A. I. L., the help he was to her in her capacity as secretary, always ready to listen to her plans. His genial accessibility was noted, also his ready wit and pervasive humor and his great promptness and consideration in all matters of business—thus making it delightful to work with him.

Mr. John Newton Bogart, then made an address saying in part, that there was nothing the Bishop regarded as more important than industrial problems. Nothing that he desired more to see brought to pass than fraternal relations between employer and employe. The Bishop with his dignity and wide reputation helped to bring the general public to consider that mediation is reasonable. Mr. Bogart then described the formation by C. A. I. L. of the Committee of Conciliation and Mediation (noted in Chapter III) and went on to state that it was the first attempt to bring into the settlement of questions a disinterested class (the so-called public) which suffers from the disputes between labor

and capital. I had the honor of acting as secretary of the Committee. We handled during seven years disputes of shoemakers, cloak-makers, electrical workers, painters, plumbers, machinists, lithographers, marble workers, more or less successfully. What was done by the Council was afterwards taken up by the Civic Federation which was formed largely along the same lines.

At every meeting of our Council of Conciliation and Mediation Bishop Potter was present; he was no figure-head. We met at his house in a sociable way, sometimes had coffee and cigars. We all enjoyed his society and admired the practical manner in which he settled questions. He will always be held in grateful remembrance by the wage-workers of this country.

The Rev. Francis J. C. Moran was introduced and said

I feel it a great honor to be allowed to take official part in this meeting. It was a pleasure to know Bishop Potter. Before I knew him in New York, I travelled with him in Virginia. His humor was remarkable, and he had a beautiful cheerfulness which no stops or delays ever seemed to ruffle; he was always pleased with whatever came, always full of most interesting anecdotes and stories to while away the time. I told him I could not forget these stories, and that I should be obliged to use them, but I would always give him the credit for them. He said, "Don't do that; use them wherever you can." He was so magnetic and many-sided. One might go to see him at his office; he would walk in with his usual dignity, chest thrown out, and with a firm expression about the remarkable mouth and chin. One might fear he could not attend, but no matter how busy he was, or how small was the question relating to labor he was always ready to talk. We none of us can forget his words at the C. A. I. L. suppers. He al-

ways said what we most wanted to hear. He said at one of these suppers, that, outside of his Diocesan work there were two organizations he liked best to work with and added: "I thank God for C. A. I. L. and the Actors' Church Alliance."

Bishop Potter was seen often on the East Side at the People's Club on the platform of the People's Institute. He was at home with everyone, a man among men, and, according to custom, when questions were asked at the Sunday night meetings, they were never too small for him to deal with.

How anxious he was about the Labor Commission of the General Convention and the Social Service Commissions of the dioceses. Just before the General Convention at Richmond, I was very much stirred about peonage in the South where many are held in a bondage worse than slavery. I wrote about this to the Bishop, just as he was ready to go to Richmond, and he brought the matter before the Labor Commission.

In conclusion, I want to use the words of Kipling, "He was clever in many ways, good to look at, and always tried to make people round him comfortable."

Mr. Henry Oscar Cole, a member of the Council of Conciliation and Mediation, formed by C. A. I. L. —described the benefits of arbitration in the Bricklayer's Union. He said the Bishop helped the bricklayers by his powerful influence. Nothing in his life had given him such pleasure as association with Bishop Potter in the Council of Mediation and Conciliation. He added, he was a thorough gentleman and of a most kindly nature.

Mr. Philip R. Mannifield the fraternal delegate from the Central Labor Union also spoke on arbitration and ended by saying, "Let us do what we can on earth by taking Bishop Potter as an example of a true democrat, who lived to help everybody and was especially active in industrial reform for which he will never be forgotten by organized labor."

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The second meeting referred to was on Sunday, December 20th, when a great memorial tribute was given under the auspices of the People's Institute in which the Bishop was so much interested. The music was rendered by the choir of the Church of the Ascension augmented by fifty voices and an orchestra of forty musicians, under the direction of Richard Henry Warren. The orchestral selections were the Tannhauser Overture; "At the Hero's Grave," Dvorak, and the last movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. By the soloists and the choir were given "Te Deum Laudamus" the musical setting by Richard Henry Warren inscribed to Bishop Potter in 1889; Bruch's "Jubilate Amen" and the Hallelujah Chorus from Messiah. The audience took part in the singing of the hymn "O God Our Help in Ages Past," and the chorale "Now Thank We All Our God." The following extracts are from the addresses that evening.

### PROFESSOR CHARLES SPRAGUE SMITH.

Some years ago, at a dinner to President Gompers, of the Federation of Labor, given, if I err not, at a time when he was on his way to Porto Rico, the presiding officer of the evening, Ernest H. Crosby, introduced Bishop Potter, as the People's Bishop and added that, whatever the creed of those present, none would dispute his rightful claim to that title. To honor him as the People's Bishop we gather here tonight. In Ernest Crosby's mind in choosing the phrase, "the People's Bishop" there was, I conceive, a certain limitation. He used the term in the sense in which we ordinarily employ it here, one rich in content, full of inspiration, but referring exclusively to that section of the people commonly denominated "the wage-earners."

I asked a member of his family to indicate to

me the dominant note in his nature, in order that I might give it to you in turn. I was told that the dominant note was his sense of human brotherhood, that, wherever he went and with whomsoever he associated, he reached out in sympathy and comradeship a brother's hand.

I want to add a personal testimonial. When I came to New York, some twenty-eight years ago, my first ambitions were kindled in connection with the institution with which I was then associated, Columbia University. I wanted to help make it great and powerful, representative of the imperial city where it was located, and in that ambition and endeavor I turned to one and another for counsel and aid. Then first I came into touch with Dr. Potter. He was not then Bishop, but Rector of Grace Church, and from that time forth, whenever I endeavored to do anything that seemed to me for the common weal, I turned to him and always received advice and encouragement. Those of you who were present last spring will recall that it is only a few months since he stood upon this platform and delivered to an audience not so large as this, but filling well the hall, an audience composed especially of young men, the first voter's oath, pronouncing to them the oath, they repeating it after him, pledging themselves to be loyal to America, loyal to their highest selves. So it is not merely a personal testimonial that I would bear to him, but, also, one in the name of all who during Bishop Potter's lifetime sought, each in his own way, to work for an ideal that had within it the communal betterment and turned not in vain to him for support.

THE REVEREND PERCY STICKNEY GRANT.

The clergy are the friends of the workingman. Twenty years ago Professor Ely in his book, "The



Labor Problem in America," stated that more clergymen were sympathetically interested in the problems of workingmen than could be found in any other class or profession. No other group that I know of combines their disinterestedness with their wide and daily intercourse with the rich and the poor.

Bishop Potter learned from his father, not to contend about non-essentials. Consequently, he went straight to the heart of a subject and was broad enough to embrace in his sympathies the many ways in which, through temperament, race, condition, religion, men fight under different standards for the same thing.

Yet, while he would not contend for non-essentials, he was not averse to contend. He had the temperament of the champion of great causes, who is willing to give and to receive hard knocks.

Bishop Potter loved the plain people. His residence one summer on the East Side, in the Pro-Cathedral on Stanton Street, was but a token of a constant interest. His representative started an uprising against the municipal corruption contaminating the homes of the poor that drove the ruling party from power. Nor was that end contributed to more trenchantly than by Bishop Potter's letter to Mayor Van Wyck, which has no superior for polite invective in the English language.

More and more he was called upon to arbitrate in contentions between employers and employees. He felt the honor and the responsibility of this position, and true as Potter blue were his decisions. He perceived the increasing gravity of the industrial problem, and it oppressed him.

Late one winter afternoon, after a day spent with an arbitration board, he went to the house of a friend for a cup of tea. His face was ashen, and he seemed depressed and exhausted. My friend asked him what had so wearied and agitated him.

He explained what he had been working at all day and then exclaimed: "I am unhappy because I see that I am not going to live long enough to right the wrongs of the people." Shortly after this he had a slight stroke of apoplexy which withdrew him, permanently, from his full activity.

## RABBI JOSEPH SILVERMAN.

To sum up his liberalism, not only in Religion but in all directions, let me end with words that I have already used on another similar occasion: This ecclesiastical star has fallen out of our horizon, but the light that he has emitted has not been darkened, though its source has been cut off. The city has been benefited by his liberalism. Many institutions have profited through his liberality in their inception and development, and thousands upon thousands of human beings have been strengthened in mind, in heart, and in spirit by his words of beauty and of strength. The politicians have been brought up with a round turn; Civic Righteousness has been emphasized, Patriotism has been stimulated; Capital and Labor have been taught to love one another; the rich and the poor have been admonished to respect one another. The clergy have been taught to live up to their standards of Faith and of practice, and have been influenced in their lives by the industry, the dignity, the culture, the sweetness, and the light that this man gave forth. Jew and Gentile have been taught to understand one another better. Religious prejudice has, in a sense received its *coup de grace*: and the millennium, it seems to me, has been brought a little closer through the life and the work of this Vicar of Heaven, of this meteor that has passed.

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### THE CHAIRMAN.

There are delegates of the Central Labor Federation of this city and of the Federation of Brooklyn here tonight as living witnesses to the friendship, and spirit of comradeship that organized labor felt towards Bishop Potter, and I have a message from President Samuel Gompers:

I should, indeed, be glad to attend the Memorial Service to be held at Cooper Union on Sunday evening, December 20th, but circumstances beyond my control prevent. A movement for the social betterment of all the people had no stancher advocate nor more earnest worker than Bishop Potter. In the best sense he was a broad-minded man. His sympathy for the hard lot of his fellows was kind and deep; he was conscientious, straightforward, highly spiritual, and in the highest sense a profoundly religious man.

It was my privilege to be thrown in contact with Bishop Potter and to know his eloquent pleas for justice, for social and moral uplift. His every word, his every act, was an effort and an appeal for a higher and better life for all.

I again express my regret that circumstances are such as to prevent my being present to aid in the tribute in honor of the memory of so great and good a man, my friend, the late Henry Codman Potter.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President of American Federation  
of Labor.

### JOHN MITCHELL.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: In the death of Bishop Potter the wage-earners of our country lost a real friend and a conscientious and

earnest adviser. It was my privilege during the past few years to have been associated with him in the work of the Industrial Department of the National Civic Federation, and during that time I learned to appreciate how fully he sympathized with the hopes, the purposes, and the aspirations of the poor. I learned to know how anxious he was to do something helpful in ameliorating their condition.

No words of eulogy that I might utter, now that he is gone, would be a higher tribute to him than is a telegram which I was authorized to send just prior to the great coal strike of 1902. This telegram was addressed to the Presidents of the Railroad Companies who controlled the production of coal in the anthracite fields. On the 8th day of May, 1902, I submitted "that a Committee composed of Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Potter and one other person whom these two may select, be authorized to make an investigation of the wages and conditions of employment existing in the anthracite field, and, if they decide that the average annual wages received by the anthracite mine workers are sufficient to enable them to live and maintain and educate their families in a manner conformable to American standards and consistent with American citizenship, we agree to withdraw our claims for higher wages and more equitable conditions of employment." Had this proposition met the approval of the mine owners the anthracite coal strike, which cost you people of New York so much, and which entailed so much suffering and hardship upon the mine workers of Pennsylvania, would have been averted. Organized Labor had confidence in these men. We expected, of course, that for humanitarian reasons alone we should have secured some redress, but we also knew that their business acumen would have prevented them from giving to us any consideration to which we were not entitled.

Ever present in the mind of Bishop Potter

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seemed to be a living realization of the fact that the Divine Master Himself was a workman—a workman who felt and knew all the trials and hardships of the workmen of His day. This spirit is reflected in a letter addressed by Bishop Potter to the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, in which he said: "Too long has the Church suffered from that same suspicion of mind which has regarded social questions, the rights of the wage-earners, the protection of the poor, the succor of the needy, and the joint organization of labor as though they were questions, in the light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, of secondary importance. He did not so regard them nor discuss them, and the pictures which our Divine Master draws of social society constituted along the line of His Divine Gospel, are portraiture of a society in which mutual service and self-sacrifice were the underlying lines." This beautiful sentiment was expressed by Bishop Potter only a short time before his death, and of all his great work it will stand as the expression of a man who, though pre-eminent in his vocation, was ever mindful of the interests and the needs of that great body of men and women and children who were least able to protect themselves.

### THE HONORABLE SETH LOW.

I like to recall that on the afternoon of the very day on which he was consecrated as Bishop, he conducted a Service at the Midnight Mission; and, on the Sunday following his consecration, he preached upon Blackwell's Island. So Bishop Potter, in the very first acts of his official life, seems to me to have claimed brotherhood with the fallen and the vicious and the afflicted.

He was personally devoted to the work of the Church Institute for Seamen, because he realized that Jack was often forgotten; because he re-

alized that on sea and land he was often oppressed. It was because he realized that the sailor was peculiarly exposed to that sort of indifference which is expressed in our proverb; "out of sight, out of mind;" that Bishop Potter gave a distinctly large part of his official activity to making provision in this seaport for better treatment of the sailors who land upon our shores. And so again, as I remember, he was very effective in the work of the Actors' Church Alliance. It is not so very long ago, you know, when very many Christian people looked upon the play-actor as a man outside the pale; when large bodies of Christians looked upon it as a mortal sin to go to the theatre. Because Bishop Potter recognized behind all the fierce temptations of that profession the good men and the good women in it, the great opportunity for good ministry upon the stage, he helped this Church Alliance to say to the actors of the country, for it is a national organization, "The Church needs you and you belong to it just as much as any other men and women in the whole land."

The quality in Bishop Potter that I ask you to think of and to meditate upon, is that splendid patriotism, that sort of civic pride in Nation, State, and City which St. Paul illustrated when he said that he was a citizen of Tarsus "a citizen of no mean city," that sort of citizenship that recognizes that the only enduring greatness, the only foundation for enduring greatness is righteousness; that sort of citizenship that will make no compromise with evil; that sort of citizenship that holds aloft always and everywhere the highest ideals of which we are capable. These are the two thoughts of Bishop Potter on his public side that linger always in my mind; that active seeking for the recognition of brotherhood, and that burning patriotism that wishes to respect in order that it may love.

## BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

I am most grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the family of Bishop Potter, for the privilege of having some part in this Memorial Service. I count it as a high and gracious privilege that my race should be thought of and in some degree recognized on this precious and holy occasion. The first time I had the privilege of meeting Bishop Potter was in this wise. I had entered the Hampton Institute in Virginia as a student, after I had walked from my former home in West Virginia. I received my diploma, after working my way through that institution, and on the day that I graduated Bishop Potter was upon the platform and heard my graduating address; and immediately after I had finished speaking (and I may add that I knew much more at that time than I know now) he came across the platform, took my hand, and said to me: "If you ever come to New York and want a friend, come in and see me," and to the day of his death Bishop Potter kept that promise.

The last time that I remember seeing him in a public gathering was in a meeting called to further the interests of one of the churches of my race in this city, and not the Church of his own special denomination; but I shall never forget how, after a busy Sunday morning, he came into this little crowded negro church, weary as he seemed to me in body, and how for an hour he poured out his great soul before that audience of colored men and women.

That represented Bishop Potter. I always found the advice which Bishop Potter gave to me concerning my race and concerning the affairs of Tuskegee Institute safe and sound. He was one of those rare men who, it seems to me, always kept his feet upon the earth; and it is a great thing for all of us, my friends, I do not care to what race or

nation we belong, to learn to keep our feet upon the earth.

One of the advantages, if I may so describe it, of belonging to a disadvantaged race, as the world understands it, is the opportunity for the individual to study and to have the privilege of testing true greatness. The time and the place to study the real character, the real strength that an individual possesses, to find out whether he is a gentleman of the true type, is not to study him when he is in contact with those of his own race and with those who belong to his own social rank, but to know him when he is in contact with those whom the world considers beneath him.

Judged, my friends, by that test—the only test, the truest test of what a true gentleman means—Bishop Potter was one of the greatest souls I ever met. When in contact with him, one forgot his Creed, forgot his race, forgot everything, except his consuming desire to serve his fellow man. He had courage of the true kind in performing his duty. He did not stop to ask whether others would consider his actions proper; how the world would regard them; whether he would be popular. His one question, and by that he was always guided, as I knew him, was, "Is it the right thing to do?" and when Bishop Potter determined in his own conscience that a certain action was right, he performed that action, though all the world frowned. His memory tonight is too great, is too precious to be claimed by a single Church, by a single city, by a single race; and my race, ten million strong in America, claims the right to have some part in cherishing and keeping alive the memory of Bishop Henry Codman Potter.

Richard Watson Gilder repeated the poem read at the Memorial Service to Bishop Potter held by the Century Association:



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### THE WARRIOR-PRIEST.

He was our warrior-priest, beneath whose gown  
The mailed armor took full many a dent  
When, at the front, all gallantly he went,  
In civic fight, to save the beloved town;  
Then did the proud, outrageous foe go down,  
To shame and wide disaster swiftly sent,  
Struck by his steel to flight—in wonderment  
To see that calm brow wear the battle frown.  
For he was courteous as a knight of old,  
And he was the very soul of friendliness;  
The spirit of youth in him lost never its power;  
So sweet his soul, his passing smile could bless;  
But this one passion all his long life held;  
To serve his Master to the last lingering hour.

What was the dominant note in this meeting?  
It was brotherhood and for this Bishop Potter  
lived and died. Think of the inspiration from  
this tremendous gathering of men and women  
of different races and nations. It was a noble  
tribute to a great man.

At the October Executive Committee meeting of  
C. A. I. L. a committee of three was appointed to  
express the sorrow of the Society, in the loss of its  
President, Bishop Potter, and the following appeared  
in a memorial number of *Hammer and Pen* in  
November:

With all the Church, and with the great community of men and women interested in civic and industrial betterment, C. A. I. L. mourns the death of the Right Reverend Henry Codman Potter, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of New York.

But C. A. I. L. has a very special reason for grief at his death, because by that death it has been

bereaved of its honored and beloved President. From the outset of his episcopate Bishop Potter was interested in the great industrial problems. With a statesman's breadth of vision, he saw that those were the most essential problems with which, at the moment, Christianity has to grapple. It was natural, therefore, that an organization which sought to study precisely these problems in the light of the Incarnation should speedily win the sympathy and the interest of this Christian statesman and Bishop.

But even before Bishop Potter became interested in C. A. I. L., C. A. I. L. had become interested in him, and was looking forward toward him as a natural leader. At the first public meeting of C. A. I. L., held in Calvary Chapel, on June 22d, 1887, the Bishop's Pastoral Letter of May 10th, 1886, was read as an expression of the sense of the meeting. In 1892 he became an honorary Vice-President of C. A. I. L., and in the following year he was appointed chairman of the Committee on Mediation and Arbitration, formed under the auspices and at the suggestion of C. A. I. L., which preceded and in a sense prepared the way for the National Civic Federation's more elaborate and more complete scheme of mediation and arbitration some ten years later, in which latter organization, also, he played a prominent part.

Bishop Potter's services as chairman of our Committee on Mediation and Arbitration won for him on the one side, the affection and the confidence of the laboring men of this city, and, on the other side made him increasingly conscious of the necessity of official action on the part of the Church for the solution of the labor problems of the day. Accordingly, in 1901, he pressed this matter upon the General Convention assembled at San Francisco, and it was through his agency that a Commission was appointed to arbitrate labor disputes and to investigate industrial problems, and to report to the

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succeeding Convention. This report, presented to the General Convention held in Boston in 1904, had a great moral influence. Finally, at the General Convention of 1907, held in Richmond, as a result largely of Bishop Potter's influence and suggestion, definite action was taken for the formation of local Social Service Commissions or Committees in the various dioceses. In accordance with the recommendation of the General Convention, at the Bishop's suggestion, a Social Service Committee, of which he himself was chairman, was appointed at the diocesan convention of the same year for the Diocese of New York, and until the time of his death he took the chief part in the work of that committee, guiding and directing its deliberations with that singular combination of moral insight and worldly wisdom for which he was distinguished. And all this we members of C. A. I. L. may justly and with pride claim was an outcome of his relation with our Association.

But, while doing this great work outside, Bishop Potter never lost his touch with nor his interest in C. A. I. L. He became President of the Society in 1905, and from that time until his death guided its policies. He believed heartily in the work that C. A. I. L. was doing, and, when some suggested that the time was ripe for abandoning this more private enterprise, supposing that the local Social Service Committees would take up and do the work which it had begun, protested against the abandonment of our Association, pointing out that such a voluntary organization in the Church was necessary to arouse public sentiment and to prevent the Social Service Committees from becoming sleeping monuments of good intentions.

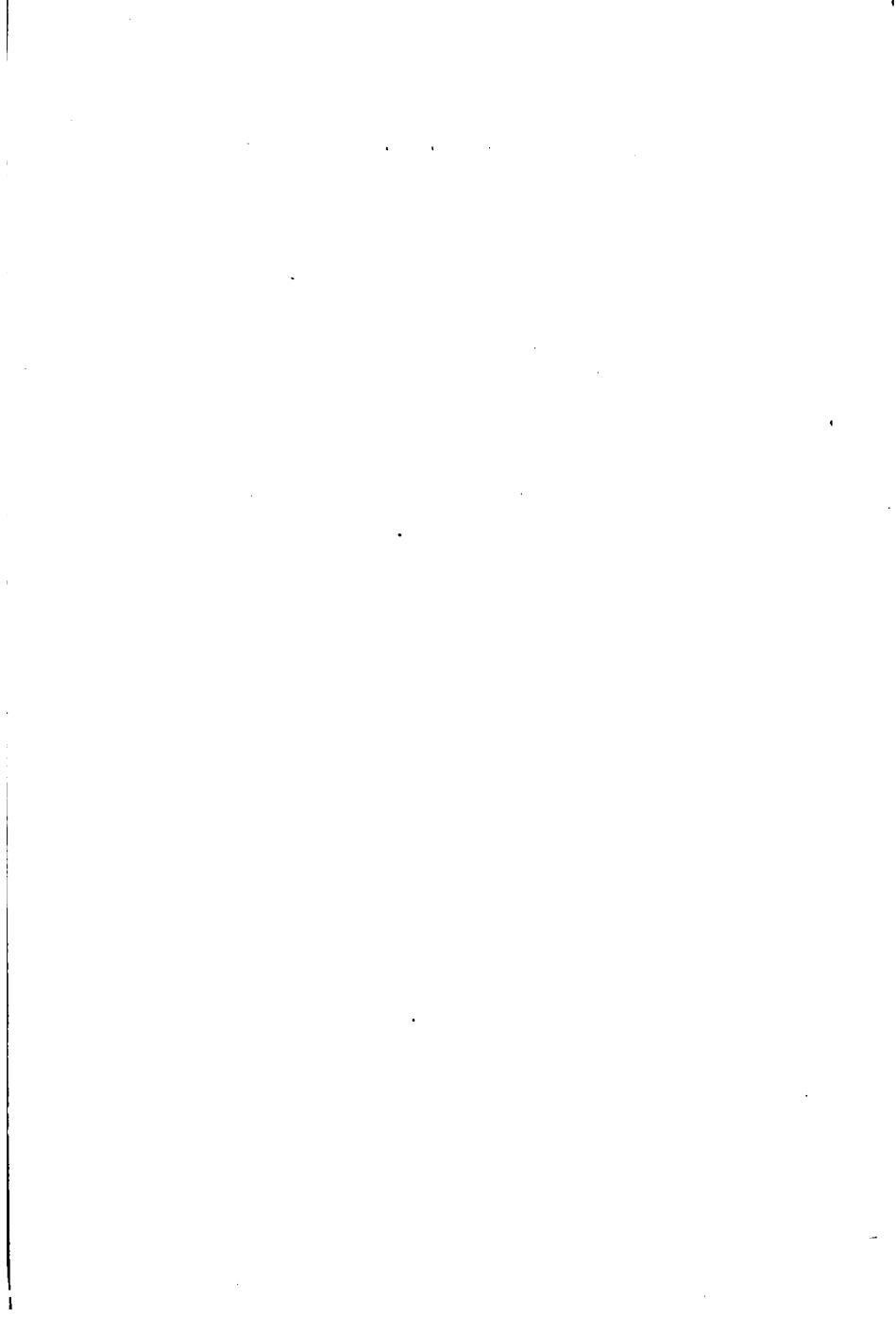
To the day of his death Bishop Potter was always accessible for counsel and help to the officers and members of C. A. I. L., and always ready to give careful consideration to the work and the needs of

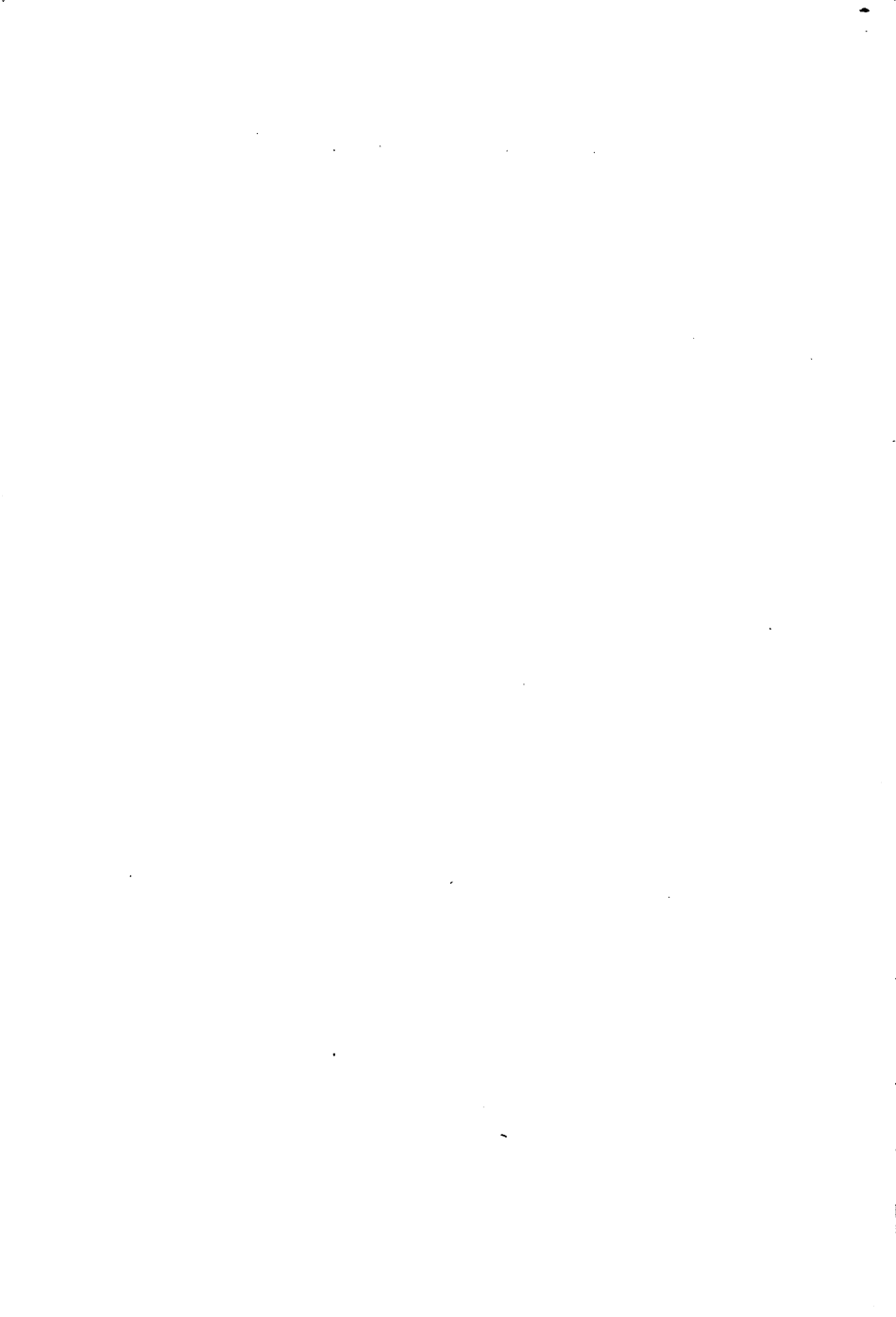
our Association. A great leader in the Church, we mourn him especially as our beloved President, who was leading the Church in that for which this Organization stands—the study of industrial problems in the light of the Incarnation. May God grant us grace to carry forward our work in the spirit of his leadership; and unto him may He give the fruition of his labors in greater and nobler spheres of achievement in heavenly places!”

JOHN C. PETERS,  
Chairman.

“O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?” The sting of death often is that one dies with his work on earth incomplete. Bishop Potter we are told had this sorrow in anticipation. The sight may have been mercifully veiled from him at the end. Nothing seems to me more pathetic than the words: “I am unhappy because I see that I am not going to live long enough to right the wrongs of the People.” To all, great and small, comes the wish to live a little longer, not for the sake of the life of this world, but to finish some work that it would seem no one else can do. So, if the man beloved by the People could have lived a little longer to see the triumph of this or that effort of civic righteousness—if he could have lived a few years to give the impetus he alone could give to the work of social progress in the Church that he loved, just a little longer! But would not this be the cry always of those who

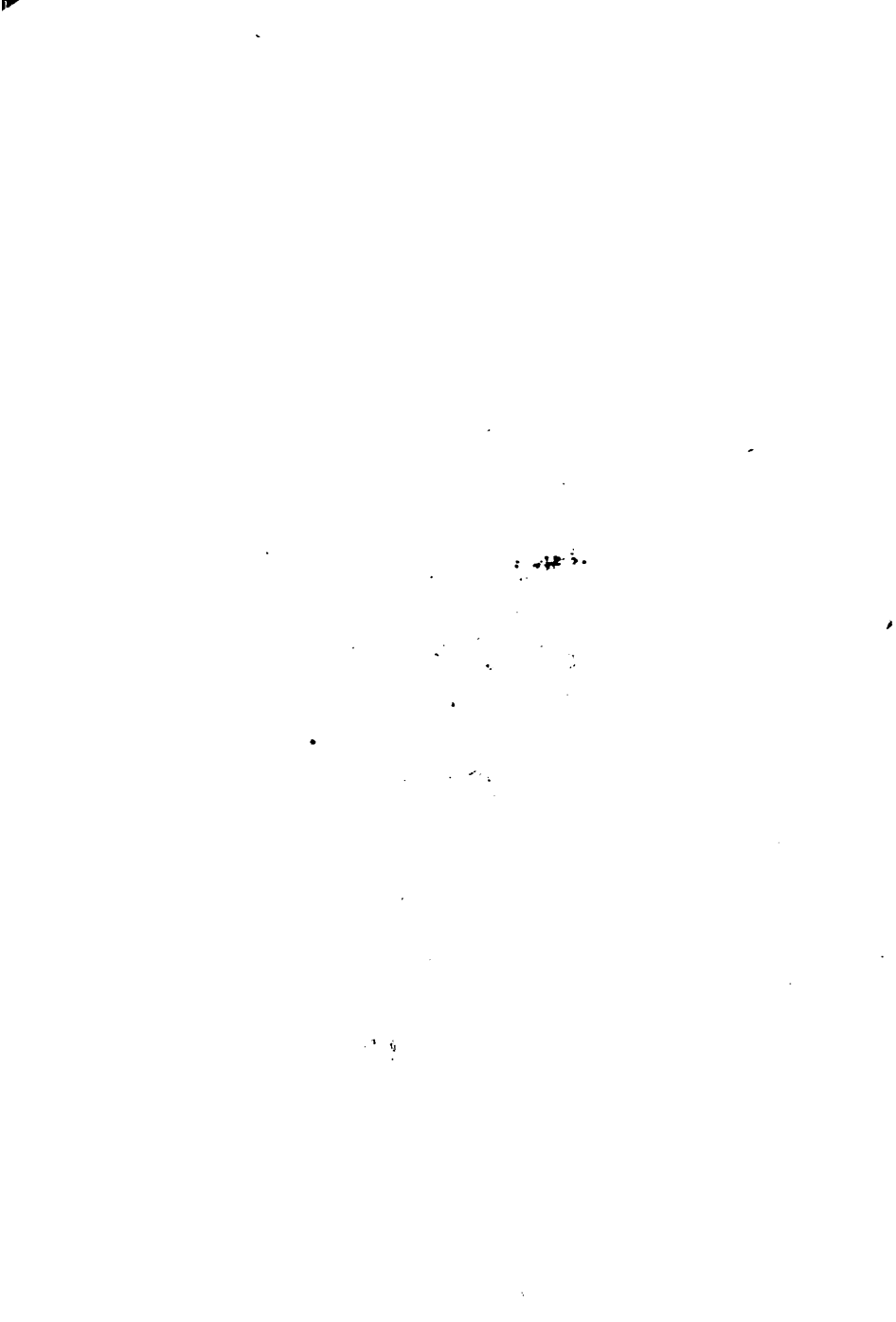
loved him, whether in the intimacy of family life or friendship, or those far away from him in personal contact, yet near in the great brotherhood of humanity? Surely, because it is not meant that earthly work should be finished. We may well believe that the work of the friend of all the People is now to inspire those who for a time are left to go on and strive to complete what must be done, until they too go out, leaving unfinished work to others.











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